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Art. I. *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History.* Translated by the Rev.
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WE cannot too loudly protest against the artifice concealed under the expression, 'the faith of the apostolic church;' by help of which it is virtually inculcated that whatever the church believed in the fourth century, was also believed in the first, because of the title 'apostolic.' We think it is one of the most grievous signs of want of candour in the new Oxford party, that they pertinaciously insist on calling the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries *witnesses* to facts which they never saw, as though they could 'depose' and give 'testimony,' concerning apostolic days. That little or no deviation of faith and opinion took place in three centuries, is possible; but certainly needs *proof*; yet these divines uniformly decline the attempt to prove it. Instead of doing this, they assert or take it for granted, so often, in so many forms, and with a tone of such assurance, as to lead the ignorant to suppose it is undenied and undeniable. They are for putting out one of the 'eyes of history,' as chronology has been called, by mixing the first four centuries together, and assuredly turn the whole study into an *ignis fatuus*.

Various considerations are of importance for enabling us to understand the causes of change in the ancient church. Her situation had numerous peculiarities to which there has been no parallel in after times; and before we make any remarks in detail on the translation of 'Eusebius's History,' which we are undertaking to review, it may be useful to dwell on the principal of these.

1. From the very necessity of the case, the earliest testimony borne to the facts and doctrines of Christianity, was *oral*. The

mass of mankind, out of whom, to serve the purposes of Divine Providence, the church was to be taken, could be addressed only by the living voice, and could not have appreciated mere written documents. Presently, indeed, the apostles committed to writing either narratives of the Lord's life, or letters to remind and instruct the churches, as the case demanded. Yet there was still need of oral testimony, to assure simple and unlettered men of the genuineness of the apostolic writings, and the amount of authority to be attached to such as were said to be the work of companions of the apostles. The art of criticism was but little known at all; the vulgar were unable to trust the decisions of the learned formed upon mere internal evidence: and it was evidently conformable to the genius of Christianity to rest on the common sense of the many, rather than on the acuteness of the few. In the first instance, therefore, the great point aimed at, was, to retain a *traditional testimony* both to the books that were to be considered apostolic, and to the primitive doctrines, which involved a sound interpretation of all that was obscure in the books. The effect, however, in the course of generations, was to introduce an inordinate reliance on the mere traditions of the elders, and to subject the understanding of the saints to the dictum of the bishop. Just as though the church had still been in her infancy, and as though the spirit had not yet been given, judgment was merged in mere memory, and the exercise of the senses in discerning good and evil was to a great extent superseded and repressed. Yet this had not been the state of things, even under the apostolic teaching, who appealed to the reason and to the conscience, to the spiritual understanding and good sense of their hearers, and with whom the use of a purely dogmatic style was comparatively rare and of limited application.

2. Out of these circumstances instantly rose in all the churches the ambition of tracing their origin to some apostle. A church which could not allege such parentage, seemed to shine as it were with borrowed light, and to be able to give no independent testimony to apostolic doctrine. The importance of being able to trace *the succession of their bishops* up to him who was first appointed immediately by Paul, or Peter, or John, may have been overrated, yet was undoubtedly real: and churches founded by Jewish teachers might find room for their willing credulity, in the similarity of their founder's name to that of some apostle. A Gentile who heard that his church was first formed by the preaching of Judas, or James, or Simon, or John, or Matthew, or Thomas, would instantly imagine that these were the apostles*

* Eusebius (vii. 25), represents Dionysius of Alexandria, saying: 'I am of opinion there were many of the same name with John the apostle, who for their love and admiration and emulation of him, and their desire at the

so called; being little aware how common the names were among the Jews. That such mistakes were sometimes made, we have full proof; and there is ground for suspecting that they were not unfrequent. The Spanish churches to this day devoutly believe, that their founder was James the Just, the first bishop of Jerusalem (and represent him also as fighting with them on horseback against the Moors); of which story, so widely spread and tenaciously held, a possible solution is, that a person named James (Jacob) really had an important share in the evangelizing of Spain. A Latin inscription on an island in the river Tiber, SEMONI SANCO, DEO FIDIO, erected to a Sabine deity, was mistaken by Justin Martyr (a Greek, little versed in Roman antiquities) for a proof that Simon Magus had come to Rome to play off his old tricks of sorcery, and lay claim to divine honours, in opposition to Christ; and this simple notion was handed down after him as indisputable fact, by Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and others. The same Eusebius relates (i. 13), that 'Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, by a divine impulse, sent Thaddæus, *who was also one of the seventy disciples*, to Edessa, as a herald and 'evangelist of the doctrines of Christ.' But in the same chapter he gives another version of the same story, translated by him 'literally from the original Syriac, preserved in the public records of the city of Edessa,' as follows. 'After the ascension of Jesus, Judas, *who is also called Thomas*, sent Thaddæus,* *the apostle, one of the seventy; &c. &c.*' Whatever explanation be adopted, the passage shows at least what strange errors may have been founded on the earliest 'public records' concerning the first founders of churches. A like difficulty arose out of the two Johns at Ephesus; John the apostle; and John the elder; who are clearly distinguished by Papias (Eusebius iii. 39), and of whom the latter is believed by many, to have been the author of the Apocalypse, and to be intended by its superscription 'John the theologian.' The Christian world at large, however, no sooner heard of an inspired writing by John, than they naturally assumed it to be by the apostle John. Just so, Irenæus states, that Papias was a hearer of John the apostle; whereas Eusebius shows by Papias' own words, that this was a mistake; and that Papias did not lay claim to personal acquaintance with any of the apostles; but had really heard John the presbyter. Again, because, Peter speaks in his first epistle concerning 'his son Marcus,' it was instantly imagined that this

same time, like him, to be beloved of the Lord, adopted the same epithet; just as we find the name of Paul and of Peter to be adopted by many among the faithful. The custom of taking a new name at baptism was probably coeval with apostolic preaching; so that even Gentiles in the earliest times may have borne apostolic names.

* In ii. 24, Eusebius speaks of the 'apostle and evangelist Mark.'

Marcus was the nephew of Barnabas; and author of the second gospel: and on this basis appears to have been founded the improbable idea, that that gospel was* superintended by the apostle Peter. We call it improbable; because Peter was the apostle of the circumcision; but Mark's gospel was written in Greek, and, as all allow, for the Gentiles. As regards the mention by Peter of his son Marcus, we have good ground to believe that he meant his real son by nature; for the verse should probably be explained: 'My wife at Babylon, and our son Marcus, send greeting.' We know from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, that Peter did take his wife about with him; and in this passage, we find his wife and son settled at Babylon, then still a city of great importance. Here and in the country around, there dwelt a vast multitude of Jews, among whom it is most probable that Peter's mission lay, in the whole latter period of his life. He calls his wife *συνεκλεκτή*, as 'heir together with him of the grace of life,' instead of simply *σύννομος*, his 'partner.'

But this leads us to mention (although it is rather a digression), the too easily received tradition of Peter's preaching at Corinth and at Rome, and his death by crucifixion in the latter city. This tale, as so many others, grew with time. First, Clement of Rome, writing with much detail about Paul's labours, says only summarily concerning Peter, that he 'bore not one or two, but 'many labours, so having given his testimony;' (*οὕτω μαρτυρήσας*) words which admitted of being translated at least in the next generation, that Peter *so suffered martyrdom*: but concerning the place or mode, he says nothing. With Peter's labours in Greece or Rome, Ignatius appears to have been wholly unacquainted: but in his epistle to the Romans, he uses words which might be misinterpreted to allude to them. 'I do not,' says he, 'command' (*διατάσσομαι*) you, as though I were a Peter or a Paul: they 'were apostles, but I am the least of all men:' which words Whiston has actually rendered: 'I do not *make constitutions* for 'you, as Peter and Paul *have done*:' to favor the genuineness of the (so called) apostolic constitutions. A careless reader might honestly infer that Paul and Peter had been bishops of Rome. But Dionysius of Corinth, in the latter half of the second century, plainly asserts in Eusebius (ii. 25), that Paul and Peter were *joint founders* of the churches at Corinth and at Rome, and that after teaching in Italy, in like manner and † *together*, they

* In Euseb. iii. 39, Papias, from whom the tradition primitively came, says, that John, the presbyter, used to say, that Mark was Peter's *interpreter*, and wrote under Peter's *instruction*. Yet Peter could himself write Greek sufficiently well. Possibly the foundation of the story is, that Peter used his son as his amanuensis on various occasions.

† *Ὁμοίως ὁμοσε διδάξαντες*—We hope that it is not from a wish to cover this difficulty, that our translator has omitted the emphatic word *ὁμοσε*. 'Having in like manner taught in Italy,' is his version, 'they suffered martyrdom about the same time.'—p. 66.

suffered martyrdom at the same period. Yet this we know to be positively untrue. Peter may have taught at Corinth and at Rome; but certainly not until the churches were founded in both places; while it is improbable that Paul could at all have preached in Italy *with Peter*, whose sphere of working was so remote. Moreover if Peter had ever preached in Italy and in Rome, it seems almost inconceivable, that no more should be stated of the details than one which is false, that 'he and Paul *together founded*' the church there. Meanwhile, it is observed, that the false notion of Peter's assisting Paul in founding the church of Corinth might easily arise out of a misapprehension of passages in the first epistle to the Corinthians: as, 'some of you say, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and *I of Cephas*.' We may add, that it is stated in Ignatius's epistles to the Magnesians, that 'in Antioch the disciples were first called Christians, *while Paul and Peter were founding the church there*;' though we must judge from the narrative of Luke,* that Peter had nothing to do with it: also, as the Church of Rome was certainly founded by Jewish Christians, before the arrival of Paul, and probably before there was any preaching to the uncircumcision; the error might be the more easily propagated, that the church was founded by the apostle of the circumcision.

But this is not the whole legend. Simon Magus having been transported to Rome† by Justin Martyr's mistake, of course, it was requisite to carry thither to oppose him the same apostle as had rebuked his impiety at Samaria. But the fiction is here detected by the time assigned; viz., the reign of the emperor Claudius; at which time it is clear that Peter did not visit Rome. The excessive stupidity of the story, and want of detail, in Eusebius, makes us doubt whether the title Legend is not too dignified for it.

'Such was the wickedness of which that malignant power, the enemy of all good, and the waylayer of human salvation, constituted Simon the father and author at this time, as if with a view to make him a great and powerful antagonist to the divine purposes of our Saviour and his apostles. Nevertheless, that divine and celestial grace which co-operates with its servants, by their appearance and presence soon extinguished the flame that had been kindled by the wicked one, humbling and casting down through them, 'every height that elevated itself against the knowledge of God.' Wherefore, neither the

* Eusebius likewise (iii. 36) deduces the bishops of Antioch from Peter.

† On the words in Acts viii. 10, 'This man is the great power of God,' was founded the story, transmitted by Origen, that after Simon had been rebuked by Peter, he became a blasphemous apostate, assuming to himself the title, *the supreme power of God*.

conspiracy of Simon, nor that of any other one then existing, was able to effect any thing against those apostolic times. For the declaration of the truth prevailed and overpowered all, and the divine word itself, now shining from heaven upon men, and flourishing upon earth, and dwelling with his apostles, prevailed and overpowered every opposition. Immediately the aforesaid impostor, being smitten as to his mental eye by a divine and supernatural brilliancy, as when on a former occasion in Judea he was convicted of his wickedness by the apostle Peter, undertook a great journey from the east across the sea, and fled to the west, thinking that this was the only way for him to live according to his mind. Entering the city of Rome, by the co-operation of that malignant spirit which had fixed its seat there, his attempts were soon so far successful, as to be honoured as a god, with the erection of a statue by the inhabitants of that city. This, however, did not continue long; for immediately under the reign of Claudius, by the benign and gracious providence of God, Peter, that powerful and great apostle, who by his courage took the lead of all the rest, was conducted to Rome against this pest of mankind. He, like a noble commander of God, fortified with divine armour, bore the precious merchandise of the revealed light from the east to those in the west, announcing the light itself and salutary doctrine of the soul, the proclamation of the kingdom of God.—pp. 49, 50.

Finally, from the time of the Roman presbyter Caius, who was ‘born when Zephyrinus* was bishop of Rome,’ they used to show the tombs of Peter and Paul at Rome; and in the next century it was taught that Peter was crucified with his head downward. The first traces of this are found in Origen, as quoted by Eusebius, iii. 1. Origen manifestly had no sources of information beyond what we have; for when recording the labors of the various apostles, he barely states, (besides his death at Rome), that ‘Peter preached through Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, to the Jews scattered abroad;’ which is manifestly drawn from Peter’s first epistle, although an unjustifiable inference.

If these particulars are tedious, they are far from unimportant, as showing how uncertain are the traditions concerning even the chief of the twelve apostles, and how easy was the growth of any notion which exalted the dignity of the churches of Greece and Rome. It was, however, the reverence paid to the *city* churches, as apostolically founded, and the comparative ignorance of the *country* churches (which were generally colonies from the former), that began the principle of having one church dominant over another, and the city bishop a diocesan over the country bishops, who held a place proportionate to that of an English rector. This relationship was primitively one of good will and mutual benefit; but the precedent gradually hardened itself into a rigid and immove-

* The common tables make Zephyrinus die, A. D. 217.

able shape, and the meetings of the town and country bishops set the pattern which was soon copied on a larger scale.

3. Very prominent in the history of the three first centuries after the death of Christ, is the fact; that it was the period of progress from variety towards uniformity, from small and independent republics towards aristocracy and monarchy on a large scale. This is a state of things quite analogous with the growth of kingdoms in modern Europe. The successive amalgamations of small powers gradually induced despotic monarchy, where a state bordering on equality had before existed. At the same time various constitutional maxims grew up, which by the ingenuity of lawyers and by the craft of statesmen, were wrought into a fixed system, forming the basis of internal jurisprudence. Just such was the change which the Christian church underwent; the liberty of the several communities being subjected to the provincial synods, and ultimately to Archbishops and Patriarchs, if not to a Pope or Emperor. The principles of discipline were gradually formed upon precedents of past time, into a systematic code, of which the 'apostolical canons' (so called) is a very ancient digest. This singular book is considered to have attained an adult state early in the third century. It doubtless tended yet more and more to give compactness and uniformity of organization to the whole Christian body, and prepared the church to assume the position of *a kingdom of this world*.

But the progress towards outward unity was stopped by the same cause which so often arrests the growth of other kingdoms,—diversity of language. The Roman empire recognised within itself four different languages, as the vehicles of civilized reason and medium of public business; the Latin, the Greek, the Syrian, and the Egyptian tongues: and, accordingly, it proved impossible to form the churches into less than four different governments. Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, were the respective seats of the four patriarchs who at length appear like independent monarchs. The Armenian church, beyond the boundaries of the Roman power, equally found its limits in the language of its people. Of other more eastern churches we have little historical knowledge; but every thing tends to persuade us that in those ages nothing but diversity of language or insuperable obstacles to physical communication, prevented the mass of professors from coalescing under a single ecclesiastical government. More especially after the introduction of written liturgies; productions which more than any thing else give a show of unity intelligible to the most unspiritual, and gratifying to those who dread the development of individual minds. By the use of them, the hesitation of the ignorant, the anxieties of the conscientious, the fastidiousness of the educated, the indolence of the careless and formal, find themselves most happily relieved; so that it is

not wonderful that the churches became more and more wedded to forms of this nature, the greater among them was the mass of zeal without knowledge, of literary spirit without piety, and of piety with a renunciation of private judgment. This, we conceive, is undeniable fact; but in so saying, we do not mean to prejudge the question whether liturgies used without compulsion or exclusion of unpremeditated prayer, have not a legitimate and real advantage.

We may again compare this order of progress, to the course of change by which numerous dialects are moulded into one or a few languages, as civilization advances. Many primitive idioms are hereby lost; much that was once genuine and unimpeachable comes to be considered vulgar, accidental deviations that were at first justly regarded as anomalous and wrong, establish themselves as pure and elegant phraseology. The great cities deviate most of all from the original tongue. And this process is carried on so silently and gradually, that no one is aware of the changes that are operating, except by comparing the speech of the living with the works of the dead. Just so was it with the early Christian church. Doubtless Origen and Dionysius could use the works of the dead as we use them, and in proportion as their minds were free from bias might hereby ascertain, whether the church in their day agreed with the apostolic doctrine; but then their witness would be the witness of critics, not that of contemporaries, and would stand on the same footing as that of Michaelis or Paley. Such witness of theirs is liable to be re-judged by us; nor are they to be treated with any peculiar respect on the ground of their having lived 1600 years ago, except when this implies a better knowledge of languages than we can attain, or access to important documents which we have lost.

4. Another peculiarity of the early ages may here be noticed, although it would require a volume to develop the character and effects of it:—the amalgamation of Pagan notions with the Christian religion. Both the superstitions of the vulgar, and the speculations of philosophers, gradually won a place for themselves in the received ecclesiastical system. In the first two centuries, philosophy played a subordinate part in the catholic church, and rather frightened than allured sober Christians by the monstrous conceptions introduced by the Gnostics, Valentinians, and numerous other heretics from the silly legends of the East. The only Christian philosopher of that age who attained great celebrity, is Justin the martyr; and as an apologist to the emperor in behalf of the Christians, and an opponent of the extravagance of heretics, he had great influence in recommending to his brethren his own philosophical views. But in the next century, the famous Alexandrian school produced Pantænus, Clement, and Origen, by

whom the conceptions and phraseology of the stoics and later platonists were triumphantly combined with Christian theology, not to be separated until the latest times; if even yet. Thus was Christianity set as it were in a foreign type; much that the Scriptures left indefinite, was now defined; principles of reasoning and interpretation were established, often greatly at variance with sober wisdom, and (what these philosophers would not have done) speculative doubt on such matters was branded as irreligious by the multitude who submitted.

The last new element received into the doctrinal system came from the school of Augustine; but though it has largely affected the Reformed churches, it never pervaded the whole of the ancient church. Augustine was a man of deep devotion, and his writings probably have done much service to experimental religion. In his school Luther was trained, having been an Augustine friar. Calvin upheld the same doctrines, but carried them yet farther. In the Romish church, its most reformed school, that of the Jansenists, was modelled wholly upon the doctrines of Augustine. Yet it appears to be beyond dispute, that several of his characteristic doctrines were importations from Manicheism, of which sect he had been a zealous follower before his conversion.

5. We apprehend that the church was not corrupted so much by any of the heresies which caused so deep alarm, as by the very reaction which took place from the dread of them. The Gnostic or Docetic theory seemed to their contemporaries like a monster ready to devour the simple sheep of Christ; but whatever mischief these and other wild systems may have done, was probably both partial and transitory. But the main remedy, indeed the great panacea, for all such evils, was that which Ignatius so often inculcates: *cleave to your bishop*. Hold no eucharist valid, save that consecrated by the bishop. Respect no ordination, but that of the bishop. Believe in no baptism for the remission of sins, but that which is sanctioned by the bishop. Admit no doctrines, but those approved by the bishop. Acknowledge no Scriptures as canonical, but what are received by your bishop. These, or such as these, were the perpetual exhortations of good, but misjudging men, who saw the difficulty which beset ignorant Christians from heretical teachers, but had not learned as we have, *by experience*, the opposite evil of leaning on a human authority, and believing him for his office, sake. The former danger was like an acute distemper, a fever or scorpion's sting; the latter brought on atrophy or lethargy, in a failure of all the powers of life. The grand apostacy into which the whole of Christendom fell, until heathen superstition had so infected the mass, that morals were both in practice and theory as bad, as the creed was absurd; the apostacy in which were taught

'doctrines of demons, by the hypocrisy of liars who had their own conscience seared;' was not brought about by believing the monstrous fables of heretics without the church, but by listening too uninquiringly to what was taught within the church; by renouncing private judgment, and by trusting to official decisions; in one word, by overvaluing the effect of the outward ceremonies of ordination, baptism, and the Lord's Supper. So rapid had been the progress of superstition, that already in the third century, these three ceremonies had established for themselves a belief in their necessary efficacy, such as inevitably drew in afterwards the mass of false religion which overspread the church until the reformers disclaimed this fundamental error. Justification by faith without the ceremonies of any church, is the sole antagonist of popish despotism, as, justification by faith without the works of the Mosaic law, was of Judaical sectarianism. And those who would clear off what they call the rubbish of Romanism, while they diligently inculcate the efficacy of Romish ordination, are lopping the twigs while they water the root.

6. But the great success which attended the efforts at consolidating the Christian church within the Roman empire into an organized body under the central power of episcopal synods; joined to the wealth which it began to manifest, and the great political importance which it assumed; gave rise to new phenomena of its history, which still fill us with surprise. They had become the object of deliberate and intense hatred to their heathen neighbours; a hatred almost without parallel, and perfectly amazing. We know that it is usual to pass this over as a thing of course, by representing it as the 'natural hatred of the human heart to Christ,' and stigmatising every persecutor of the church as actuated by simple 'enmity to God.' But, we apprehend, the facts will not allow of this ready solution. Neither Gallio, nor Felix, nor Festus, nor any other Roman officer, showed such a temper towards Paul and his doctrine; yet when the gospel was pure in its fountain-head, it ought most to have drawn out the enmity of the natural heart. When the church was purest, no fixed hatred of the nation against it existed, such as could have allowed a persecution like that of Diocletian; and the public authorities almost uniformly defended the Christians, as peaceable and good citizens. The first exception was the furious Nero; who seeking to get rid of the odium brought on himself by his atrocious burning of Rome, laid the crime on the Christians, as a set of men whose hatred of the religion of their ancestors might seem to accredit the charge of consuming the temples of the gods, and the abodes hallowed by ancient ceremonies. His horrible cruelties we have certainly no thought of defending,

when we say, that not even these were dictated by any special 'enmity to Christ,' of whom he probably knew no more than of Buddha or Con-foo-tze. The sovereigns who* afterwards assailed the church are generally those whom, in a civil history, we should comparatively reckon among the 'good' emperors. Such were Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Septimus Severus, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, and Diocletian; while the profligate Commodus, the tyrannical Caracalla, and the pusillanimous Gallienus, stopped the persecutions which their fathers had instituted. This is sagaciously accounted for by Joseph Milner, as though 'mere moral men' have a greater hatred of 'the gospel' than utter profligates. Forsooth, Trajan or Caracalla knew no more about 'the gospel' than does the emperor of China! By Trajan it is most manifest that Christians were persecuted for the same reason as free-masons by the Spanish Inquisition; not because their doctrines are known and disapproved, but because they are unknown and suspected: because they are a secret society, under a complex internal organization, bound by unknown oaths to obey a foreign and unconstitutional authority. We apprehend that the same evil principle actuated Trajan, as afterwards our own queen Elizabeth, or any other modern sovereign, who from policy, not from bigotry, has used severity to repress liberty of conscience; namely, the love of power; the fear of their prerogative being lessened, if men dare to think for themselves; the habit of regarding mankind as made to subject their minds and bodies alike to the will of the prince. This despotic temper is utterly bad; and when it leads to cruelties, far be it from us to plead in its defence. But we repeat, it is a mistake, and it tends to obscure the whole history, to imagine that such monarchs are, like 'mere moral men,' aiming their attack at 'the doctrines of grace;' or that Trajan was in any other sense the enemy of Christ than was Tiberius Cæsar. Each hated *liberty*; each used tyrannical violence to restrain it; but the former had far more excuse; for the organizing of a secret society draws natural suspicion. If the Christians had not only laboured to defend their *doctrines* as true (while whether they were true or false, politic despots cared not a straw), but had so conducted their communities as to take away all ground of suspicion on the part of the government; they might possibly have not only avoided public persecution, but, after the fright of novelty was past, have obtained a fair measure of good will from their heathen neighbours whom they failed to convert. Unhappily,

* Domitian's persecution was one of cowardice. It had been frequent with the emperors to banish from Italy the astrologers, and sometimes the Jews. Domitian similarly banished Christians, who were taxed with 'atheism and Jewish manners.' For this alleged crime he put to death his kinsman Flavius Clemens, probably dreading magical arts.

they did the very opposite. They even accumulated wealth and estates for their societies, against the law of the land; which did not allow to unrecognised corporations this privilege: so that they became a mark to the cupidity of every informer, and gave to the sovereign a legal ground of attack. The organization, also, of the Christian body became more and more obviously formidable to the state; and that it was not causelessly dreaded by the sagacious monarchs who persecuted them, the facts of the history demonstrate. Having marshalled themselves as if to invite battle, they fell, unresistingly and enthusiastically, by the cruelty of their adversaries, until a king arose who was too humane to exterminate so large a fraction of his peaceable subjects, and politic enough to see, that by putting himself at the head of the Christians he should make the empire of Rome his own. It was certainly in this lower sense that 'the cross of Christ,' (seen, if so it must be, in vision,) carried Constantine on the wings of victory from Britain to Syria.

But it is important to remark, not solely on the *cause* of the persecutions, but likewise on their *effects*. Among these it is usual to reckon as the most prominent, that they cleared the church of false professors,* and raised the tone of Christian piety. Indeed, when a persecution was brought on by the improper ostentation of wealth on the part of the ecclesiastics, (to which Cyprian ascribes the persecution under Decius,) the spoliation which ensued was perhaps of use in reducing the prelates of large cities to a more apostolic lowliness, and counteracted the abuses ever connected with ample religious endowments. But after these storms had past, the 'lapsed' who had sacrificed to idols or otherwise compromised their loyalty to Christ, again sued for admission into the church; and, though not without humiliating penances, the majority would of course be re-admitted: nor do we know what facts warrant us in supposing, that four or five years after such a visitation, the church was freer from half-hearted disciples than before. Moreover, the violences inflicted on persons, are, we believe, (taking human nature in the mass,) alike a curse to him who inflicts and to him who suffers; just as 'the quality of mercy' blesses him who gives and him who takes. That a large increase of fanaticism on the whole took place in the church, appears to us certain, and that she came forth out of the fire of Dioclesian's persecution more worldly than ever, more ready to believe that the kingdom of Christ consisted in the saints being allowed to grasp, and appropriate to themselves exclusively, the dignities and emoluments of this world. We must

* 'No doubt,' says Milner of the Decian persecution, 'the effects were salutary to the church.' Had he known facts in illustration, he would probably have produced them.

not indeed ascribe all the ecclesiastical iniquities in the reigns of Constantine and his sons, to the persecution that preceded: it was sudden prosperity after dreadful depression, wealth after poverty, victory and power after tortures and death, which so fatally influenced the spirit of Christians. But no one can read the tales of the martyrs of the third century, without being struck forcibly by the fact, that a painfully inordinate premium was given by the persecutions to mere bodily fortitude. Perhaps the question is too long to be here discussed. We should be ashamed to seem for a moment to palliate the deliberate cowardice, which tells the opportune lie to avoid suffering, with the simultaneous intention of recanting a second time when the danger is past. But when we consider how unfit for the kingdom of God, which is 'righteousness, peace, and spiritual joy,' a noisy fanatical martyr may be; (indeed Moors and Hindoos, Parsees and Assassins, have had martyrs of their own to compete with ours;) and how widely different a spirit from that of mere fortitude appears to be the most necessary qualification for the company of the blessed: we feel it hard to interpret our Saviour's threat concerning those who are '*ashamed* of him before men' in so stern a sense, as to imply that he will disown all those whose physical courage has failed in a crisis, at which no wise man will dare to say how he himself would be enabled to act. Certain it is, that wild enthusiasm at these times of trial passed unrebuked, or rather was admired, by the whole Christian body. They were worked up into a state of false feeling in which the judgment cannot tranquilly decide between good and evil: all the powers of the mind and soul were adequately employed in upholding the single unflinching determination to resist inventive cruelty: no energy could be spared for other virtues: to look for *wisdom* from men so tried might seem highly unreasonable. It need hardly be added, that Christian loyalty was eked out by party spirit, by a sense of shame, and all the inferior motives so difficult to dispense with. We read in Eusebius (vi. 44) a story of Dionysius concerning one Serapion, 'an aged believer, who had passed a long 'life irreproachably,' but having sacrificed in the Decian persecution, no Christian would relieve his beggary, and he died (as would appear) of starvation. Then as by the eminent fame which accompanied martyrdom the spirit of multitudes was sustained, so those who for confessing Christ had been mutilated, or otherwise tormented short of death, thought themselves justified in assuming airs of great superiority; and their claims were too generally recognized. A superstitious veneration for the bones and relics of martyrs, and a belief in the virtue of their intercession, naturally connected itself with such times; and the widest foundations of error were laid upon their tombs.

7. But for an entire understanding of the events, it is requisite

farther to apprehend the change which had passed in two centuries and a half over the rulers of the Roman world. When Paul preached for the first time the glad news of eternal life to Greece and Italy, the proconsuls and tribunes under whose authority he fell, were generally men of cultivated mind, trained in the old Roman policy of tolerating all superstitions not inhuman or dangerous to civil society; men utterly averse to all bigotry, esteeming every religion alike untrue, but alike useful to the state. Even under the maddest reigns of that century, the same general policy prevailed through the empire at large; and when persecution arose under Trajan, in the opening of the next century from motives of policy, it was limited by policy. To terrify and to subdue was sternly aimed at; but no sanguinary detestation of persons, no gratuitous cruelty, found place in the imperial counsels. When, however, the old nobility of Rome were nearly exterminated; when foreigners had long swayed the imperial sceptre; when a peasant, an Arab, a slave, had obtained this dignity by mere military power, and the Roman senate had lost even the appearance of authority; all the old maxims of empire were overturned; illiterate brutality domineered, educated policy was unknown; and the last terrific persecution was permitted by Diocletian, a man who had been once a slave;—stimulated by Maximian and especially Galerius, unlettered, bigoted, savage peasants. Of the four emperors then in power, Constantius alone was a man of rank, education, and humanity; and accordingly he, though a pagan, forbade persecution of the Christians within his provinces. That Valerian and Decius were persecutors, is only explicable by the circumstance that they were, in a perverse way, Reformers; and, while seeking with patrician enthusiasm to bring back old Roman manners, they unhappily thought the old Roman religion was equally to be enforced on a corrupted age.

Such was the general nature of the times, the history of which Eusebius undertook to record. They were times which deserved the ablest pen, could any one have united learning and judgment, impartiality and zeal, devotion and genius. But we think ourselves happy in getting any record of facts, be they ever so tame and dry, ever so mingled with false judgment, bad taste and credulity; for nothing else can be expected. The new translation of Eusebius, which stands at the head of this article, is certainly a seasonable publication: but we think it a defect in every such production, not to prefix some account of the author, considering that it is not for scholars that the translation is intended.

There were two eminent bishops named Eusebius in the reign of Constantine the Great; the bishop of Nicomedia, and the bishop of Cæsarea; and both were in high favour with the emperor. The former held with the Arian party, and by his

abilities and character, as also perhaps his proximity to the new metropolis, was the most influential man at court of all the bishops of that day. The latter Eusebius was best known among the Christians by his history of the martyr Pamphilus, his very intimate friend and companion in study; whence he was honorably named for discrimination Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου, 'Pamphilus's Eusebius;' not 'Eusebius Pamphilus,' as our translator (following a common error) gives it in his title-page, and in p. 332; (where, however, he shows that he understands it himself aright). This Eusebius also was suspected as a supporter of the Arians, although he at last signed the Nicene Creed: but his enemies have in every age charged him with dissimulation, as being an Arian at heart. This circumstance is peculiarly needful for the translator to clear up; for there is no imputation on a historian so unpleasant as want of truth.

But in fact, the most inveterate assailants of the bishop of Cesaræa, as Jerom among the ancients and cardinal Baronius of the moderns, have not ventured to impute to his history any taint drawn from his supposed want of orthodoxy. Their complaints have been,—that he did not choose to carry down his history so far as to include the Arian controversy; showing that he was afraid to meddle with the subject: that he speaks of Arius drily, and without vituperation; and alludes to the whole quarrel as an affair greatly to be deplored;—that in his life of Constantine, he represents that emperor as dealing out impartial reproof to both the contending parties, and shows his opinion, that both were wrong; and that some three or four passages, and points of phraseology, are suspicious, as indicating his adherence to Arian doctrine:—worst of all, that in his sermons against Sabellius, he most clearly declares his disapproval of *ultra scriptural tests*. His learned editor Valesius, while defending his general orthodoxy, cites this passage to record his entire disapprobation:

'While therefore, in matters which admit of investigation, it is idleness to shrink from investigating; yet, where investigation is needless, it is rash. What subjects then ought to be investigated? those which we find to be laid down in the Scriptures. But what we do not find in the Scriptures, it is better not to investigate. For if it were proper that they should be known to us, certainly the Holy Spirit would have inserted them in the Scriptures. Let us not run such hazards, but let us speak safely; if however any thing is *written* on the point, let it not be blotted out. Confine yourself to Scripture language, and the debate will be soon terminated.'

Valesius considers it to be obvious, that such passages were directed against the non-scriptural term ὁμοούσιον (co-essential or consubstantial) inserted in the Nicene Creed; which was the grand topic of contention between the Arians and Catholics. And

if these were all along the sentiments of Eusebius, he must obviously have disapproved of the enforcement of the Creed, even while he agreed personally to its doctrine. That this was really the case, we have far stronger proof in his conduct; and beyond doubt it was this, not his writings, which so incensed the Catholics against him. Of his writings they are evidently very proud,—even the contumelious Jerom; but his manifest sympathy and cordiality with the dreaded and hated party, excited their indignation. He continued all along the friend of the bishop of Nicomedia; he was trusted by the court when the Arians were in power; he was one of the commission of bishops for trying Eustathius of Antioch, accused by the Arians of holding Sabellian doctrine and of scandalous morals: and even in the trial of Athanasius himself he officiated as president;—if he has not been confounded with his name's sake of Nicomedia. He is probably to be considered as Athanasius's most formidable adversary. Yet it is wholly groundless to charge him with insincerity in his professed adherence to Nicene doctrine. The uniform tenor of his public teaching, his letters and writings on occasions at which a prudent dissembler would have been silent, and might have been so without reproach, show that he sincerely held the substance of the faith intended to be enforced by the bishops who met at Nicæa. Indeed the rough draft of the creed was from his pen. But he considered the term *ὁμοούσιον*, which the rest inserted, to be of ambiguous import, and on many grounds objectionable, as indeed it had recently been condemned by the synod of Antioch in the trial of Paul of Samosata. The expressions alleged as proving his Arianism, are perfectly frivolous to those who know the uniform freedom of expression used in Ante-Nicene times. They only prove that he did not choose to deviate from antiquity, for the mere sake of manifesting dislike of the Arians: and when the historian Socrates, in defending Eusebius's orthodoxy, thinks an apology needed for his so frequent use of the phrase 'through Christ,' which was specially attacked, we may judge of the liveliness of the suspicion against him.

There is a point, however, on which it is difficult or impossible to defend his sincerity. To the Nicene profession of faith was added an anathema on the Arians, which, as much as the creed itself, we presume, must have been accepted by Eusebius. Whether by any special pleading he satisfied his conscience that the anathema was no part of what he subscribed, or by any subtle interpretation lowered the meaning of the term anathema, we have no means of ascertaining.

Violent odium was excited against him by his consenting to take part in the trial of Athanasius at the council of Tyre. A bishop present on that occasion, declared his suspicion that Eusebius had sacrificed to the gods in Diocletian's persecution; since

he had escaped out of prison uninjured: and this has been zealously caught at as though it were a proved fact, by such as are willing to believe all ill of him. But this certainly could not have been believed by the church of Antioch, whose behaviour towards him is perhaps his highest eulogium. We have mentioned that he was one of the commission, by whom, acting under the emperor's authority, Eustathius was ejected from the episcopal throne of Antioch. The people of this great city were vehemently attached to their bishop; insomuch that popular insurrection was threatened when he was deprived. Yet when the church had regained its calmness, (whether convinced, or not, of the justice of the sentence,) they voluntarily invited Eusebius to transfer his episcopal cares from Cesaræa to Antioch; a most signal proof of their confidence that upright motives alone had actuated him. The bishops wrote to Constantine, to beg him to use his authority with Eusebius in enforcing the translation. He, however, not allured by the ambition of becoming patriarch of that great see,—either preferring the greater literary ease attainable in the see of Cesaræa, or shunning the tumult and political broils of an ecclesiastical metropolis, or fearing to stain his character, if it might be thought that he had helped to depose Eustathius from personal interest,—whether, in short, his motives were prudential or truly spiritual,—most honorably declined their call. That he escaped out of prison in the persecution without bodily harm, is not at all to be wondered at. The soldiers and executioners whose part it was to enforce the inhuman orders of the government, were not always so brutal as they seemed to be; and those who most desired to spare the unhappy sufferers, often put on the guise of violence to delude their superior. Some were hurried past the altar, or even furiously cast out on the ground, and the soldiers cried out that they had sacrificed. Some had their mouths stopped, lest they should contradict; and were thus pushed out among the crowd. Stripes and other rough usage sometimes were freely bestowed, in hope hereby to save the need of more dreadful torture. These things prove, that the cases must have been very numerous, where a meek and quietly behaved Christian, who did nothing to exasperate the officers, might obtain favorable treatment. As for Eusebius, his accuser did not pretend that he was brought to the altar at all; but merely that he was committed to prison: which makes the imputation on him appear to be actually malicious.

But on his moral and spiritual character we have little to say that is more than negative. He was a decent, prudent, respectable man, a lover of peace and quiet, given to literary pursuits; but in no respect likely to originate any thing grand or generous, undistinguished by any of the higher qualities of the heart; too

smooth a courtier to be an upright moralist, and fatally influential in bringing about an easy union of church and state. Such men as he, soothed the unhappy Constantine with baneful panegyrics; and while power was awfully hardening his heart to the murder of three-fourths of his relations, persuaded him that he was providing for the welfare of the empire and stability of the church. Concerning the death of the accomplished Crispus, eldest son of the emperor, the prudent bishop keeps silent; probably knowing that remorse for this deed was too deeply rankling in the imperial bosom to make flattery endurable: perhaps also, the case was too bad for the bishop to palliate to his own conscience. Yet he did not scruple to write a life of Constantine, which is only one continued panegyric on his character; as, under pretence of omitting political transactions, he selects only just so much of his actions as is reputable. With the same spirit, he tells us that in his history of the church, he omits whatever is discreditable in the conduct of Christians.

That the contemporaries of Eusebius did not causelessly give him credit for great erudition, may appear from the list of his works. He is recorded to have written: Twenty books of Christian Evidences; fifteen more of Evangelical Preparation; five on Θεοφάνεια (divine appearances?); ten on Ecclesiastical History, which are all extant, and are here translated: his Chronicle, or Universal History, of which only fragments were known until an Armenian version of it was found lately at Constantinople: a work on the Discrepancies of the Gospels; ten books on Isaiah; thirty books against the unbeliever Porphyrius; one book of Topics; six of Apology for Origen; three on the life of Pamphilus, which are praised by Jerom as most elegant, and which doubtless were his most popular work among his contemporaries; besides other Accounts of the Martyrs, Commentaries on 150 Psalms; Life of Constantine; a Dictionary of Scripture Geography; and many other things. He writes in a Greek style, which aims at being highly classical, but which is deficient in simplicity, and is the obvious production of rhetorical culture. It was observed of him, by Theodorus, that like others who had learned to write in the Egyptian school, his Greek style was 'somewhat hard.' But in truth, it is not so much the dialect that needs reproof, as the mind of the individual. There is an evident attempt at fine writing, which produces only pomp and verbosity; of which the reader may see a specimen in the passage above extracted, concerning Simon Magus and Peter—although the translation cannot adequately express the rhetorical artifices of the original. The tenth book of his 'History' is in fact a mere display of bombast, with hardly a single historical fact in it. We can only afford room for one specimen:

‘But when malignant envy and the mischievous spirit of iniquity, almost bursting asunder at such a display of grace and benevolence, was now arraying all his deadly forces against us, and like a dog in a fit of madness, first gnashing his teeth at the stones cast at him, and pouring his rage kindled by his assailants, against inanimate weapons, he levelled his savage ferocity at the stones of the oratories and lifeless materials, to produce, as he supposed, the desolation of the churches. Afterwards, however, he issued dreadful hissings and serpent-like voices, sometimes by the threats of impious tyrants, sometimes by the blasphemous ordinances of profane governors; and moreover, he himself, pouring forth death, and infecting the souls captured by him with his pestilential and destructive poison, almost destroyed them with the deadly sacrifices to dead idols, and caused every sort of beast in the shape of man, and every savage, to assault us.’—p. 379.

Such stuff may be found in plenty in the (so called) Wisdom of Solomon,—a production of the Jewish Platonic school of Alexandria; and indeed is hardly a caricature of some passages in the divine Plato himself. The entire absence of all that could be called philosophical in Eusebius's narrative, makes the rhetorical style yet more offensive. There is no grouping of the events, such as to make it history, and not mere chronicles. Of historical criticism there is not even a pretence. One is provoked by the quiet credulity with which he repeats Justin's rash statement that the Jews had expunged from the Old Testament apocryphal texts on which Justin lays stress;—likewise concerning the miraculous translation of the Septuagint, from Irenæus, with the more dangerous addition from the same, that the Scriptures were destroyed in the Babylonish captivity, but were *composed anew* by Esdras the priest, acting under divine inspiration. With equal simplicity, he attributes the Decian persecution to the spite which Decius bore to his predecessor Philip the Arab; as the assassin Philip was reported to have confessed his sins on his death-bed, and to have died a Christian.

The Author indeed plainly tells us that he measures the credibility of *anonymous* writers by their orthodoxy. From such a one, (p. 193) he adopts not only a narrative concerning Victor, bishop of Rome, excommunicating persons for denying the divinity of Christ, (which was intrinsically credible enough,) but a miracle wrought for the conversion of one Natalius from this heresy, who was ‘lashed by holy angels all night long,’ until brought to repentance; and who afterwards barely obtained readmission to the communion of the church by supplicating both clergy and laity, and ‘pointing to the marks of the stripes’ which he had received. So in p. 88: ‘That John was still living, it may suffice to prove, by the testimony of two witnesses. These, *as maintaining sound doctrine in the church, may surely be regarded as worthy of all credit*; and such were Irenæus and

‘Clement of Alexandria.’ He then quotes two direct statements of Irenæus that ‘John lived till the time of Trajan;’ and supports it by a legend from Clement, which doubtless *may* be true, but has not a feature of probability to recommend it.

Excessive credulity, however, as to miracles is no special reproach to our Author; he is perhaps less guilty of it than most ancient Christian writers. They looked on miracles as matters so naturally to be expected, within the sphere of the Holy Spirit’s working, as to believe them on the most ordinary hearsay, and transmit them as undoubted facts. Where this is the state of public feeling, even a mind naturally sceptical is overpowered by the apparent force of testimony; when as it were the voice of a multitude proclaims a fact to be ‘notorious,’ and it appears like unreasonable incredulity to demand the testimony of eye-witnesses, to whom there is certainly no access for those who are not living on the spot. Most of the miracles transmitted by Eusebius are natural events converted into what is supernatural by slight exaggerations and by the enthusiasm which the critical times called out. The miracles wrought during the martyrdom of saints are always useless for ultimately saving them from their tormentors. The body of young Apphianus is cast into the sea, but (miraculous to tell!) the sea casts it up before the gates of the city, ‘as if unable to bear it.’ At another time the dogs and birds refused to eat the carcasses of the martyrs. At another time the very columns and walls of the city wept large drops,* as a reproof to the relentless persecutors. Again, bears and leopards refused to attack the person of a young man, who stood unbound and motionless, with his arms extended like a cross, intensely engaged in prayer to God. A wild bull let loose upon five saints who were cast bound on the sand, turned his fury on the attendants outside the rails, who were irritating him with brands of hot iron. Such are the miracles recorded by our Author. In the story of Polycarp’s martyrdom, extracted by him from the epistle of the church of Smyrna, he even exerts critical discrimination of a certain kind, so as to drop a part of their narration which was too improbable to be received. He relates (p. 131) the great ‘miracle,’ that the flames ascended all round the body of the martyr like a wall of fire, and yet he was not consumed; but from the burning (of the wood?) there proceeded an aromatic odour, like the fumes of incense; doubtless indicating how acceptable to God was the sacrifice. The proconsul, learning how tedious was the progress of the fire, ordered the

* The translator annexes an ill-judged defence of this, as a real miracle. It was obviously a natural event, perhaps rather rare in that climate, produced by a sudden chill in the atmosphere. In Pagan stories the same miracle is common.

executioner to plunge his sword into him, on which the blood gushed forth so profusely as to extinguish the flames; and 'the whole multitude were astonished that such a difference should be made between the unbelievers and the elect.' The blow, however, was, mercifully, as fatal to the saint, as if he had been an unbeliever. But, what is most to our purpose, our historian suppresses the statement* of the church of Smyrna, that a *dove* issued out of the wound. Thus he was not so far gone in credulity as to believe *every thing* on the deposition of an orthodox church. But what is to be thought of his judgment, when the extravagance of this part of the story did not suggest to him that the rest also was the exaggeration of heated minds?

His learned editor, Valesius, is very angry with Scaliger for scoffing at the erudition of Eusebius; and complains that he is most unjust in denying him the praise which his greatest enemies conceded him. But it is not his erudition which Scaliger attacks, it is his judgment; and if Jerom highly esteemed his judgment as well as his erudition, this would influence but little one who thinks as meanly of Jerom. Scaliger, in fact, is making a universal attack on the critical acumen of the Christian Fathers. He selects Eusebius as a prime specimen; but he says: *If you know Eusebius alone, you know them all.* Nor can it be denied, as regards historical facts. Only in one matter do they show acuteness, (and this, it will be readily confessed, is one of paramount importance,) viz. in discriminating the genuineness of apostolic writings. In this respect Eusebius is to us a highly valuable author. He not only gives us the canon of the inspired books of Scripture as received in his day, but extracts from all earlier authors their account of the same. And it is of much importance that he always quotes the very words, and not the substance only, of the authors to whom he refers; so that in his work we find preserved numerous passages of authors otherwise wholly lost. Of the writings of the celebrated Dionysius of Alexandria we have nothing; but the extracts in Eusebius; and from them we may judge, that none of the ancient Christian writers equalled him as a critic, except his master, Origen; and Origen was more liable to be biassed by fancies and theories of his own. The critiques with which Eusebius furnishes us, of Dionysius on the authorship of the Apocalypse, and of Origen on that of the Epistle of the Hebrews, are both of peculiar interest.

No one must expect in our Author a description of the manners and morals of the Christians, as they changed from age to age; much less a systematic view of church order and discipline. Interesting and instructive as this would be to us, to his contem-

* As found in the book called 'The Martyrdom of Polycarp.'

poraries it would be unnecessary or unpleasing. The history of a single church, well written, would doubtless be far more valuable to us than the superficial narrative of the whole church which he sets before us. It is only now and then that we gain something useful or curious.—In vi. 43, we find a most intemperate letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, against Novatus (or Novatian), which contains a singular piece of information. Novatus, it seems, when supposed at the point of death, was baptized by sprinkling, in the bed on which he lay. Cornelius uses this fact to impeach the validity of his orders, as did all the clergy (he tells us) and many of the laity; ‘since it was not lawful that one baptized in his sick bed by sprinkling, should be promoted to any order of the clergy.’ As late as the reign of Gordian, Eusebius records that Fabianus was elected bishop of Rome by *the whole body* of the assembled brethren (vi. 29)—as in the reign of Antoninus he represents *the brethren* at Jerusalem entreating Narcissus to take the episcopate in that city (vi. 11).—About the same time the celebrated Origen while at Cæsaræa ‘was requested by the bishops to expound the sacred Scriptures publicly in the church, although he had not yet obtained the priesthood by imposition of hands.’ Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, complained of this; to whom the bishops of Cæsaræa and Jerusalem wrote back as follows: ‘He (Demetrius) has added to his letter, that this was never before either heard or done, that laymen should deliver discourses in the presence of the bishops.’ ‘I know not how it happens that he is here evidently so far from the truth. For indeed, *wheresoever there are found those qualified to benefit the brethren, these are exhorted by the holy bishops to address the people.*’

But although the freedom from mere formal rigour which distinguished apostolic times, was not yet quite abolished, the pages of Eusebius manifest the extent to which superstition had infected ‘the church.’ One example alone can here be given. The old Serapion above referred to, when sensible that his end was near, sent his grand-child for one of the presbyters to absolve him. But it was night, and the presbyter was sick. ‘As I had however before issued an injunction,’ says Dionysius of Alexandria, (Euseb. vi. 44,) ‘that those at the point of death, if they desired it, and especially if they entreated for it before, should receive absolution, that they might depart from life in comfortable hope, I gave the boy a small portion of the eucharist, telling him to dip it in water and to drop it into the mouth of the old man. The boy returned with the morsel. When he came near, before he entered, Serapion said: ‘*Thou hast come, my boy, but the presbyter could not come; but do thou quickly perform what thou art commanded, and dismiss me.*’ The boy moistened it, and at the same time dropped it into the old man’s mouth; and he,

having swallowed a little, immediately expired.' Such is the miracle, (pronounced by Eusebius to be 'wonderful indeed,') by recounting which, Dionysius sought to convince Fabius of Antioch that the lapsed ought to be re-admitted to communion. Thus in the middle of the third century the belief had established itself, that a bishop had power of absolving from sin, with the view to give a *quietus* to a dying man.

As regards the morals of the church, the most important and scandalous case detailed by our Author is that of Paul of Samosata, whose avaricious, haughty, and impudent conduct, has afforded a ground of triumph to the historian Gibbon. But the believer must not shut his eyes against fact, because the unbeliever scoffs. Eusebius (vii. 27—30) most clearly informs us that eight long years elapsed at Antioch, where 'a vast number' of ecclesiastics were assembled, in the endeavour to convict Paul, the bishop, of unsound doctrine concerning the person of Christ; and (according to our Author) they might ultimately have failed, but for the subtlety of one Malchion, 'a man who 'had been at the head of the sophists' Greek school of sciences 'at Antioch.' . . . 'This man (says he) was the only one, who 'was able to ferret out his sly and deceitful sentiments.'—So that it never occurred to the reverend conclave, nor to the metropolitan church, to eject on moral grounds a bishop whose conduct is described by the council as utterly disgraceful, and whom they do not scruple to accuse of enriching himself by sacrilege, extortion, and receiving of bribes! Forsooth, they must wait till they could convict him of heterodoxy; and that in a matter so deep and ambiguous, that it needed, as we might say, 'a lawyer' to sift it. Eusebius alleges it to have been, the maintaining that Christ was but a common man; but he must clearly mean that this was the *inference* deduced by the clever sophist; for had Paul professed this, the wit of his antagonist would have been needless.

But we must draw our critique to a close. As the translator is on the other side of the Atlantic, it is the less advisable, even had we room, to make remarks in detail on the translation. On comparing various passages with the original, we find them to be very correct: in a few places we complain of obscurity, and now and then * errors, generally of a minor kind. We shall

* In iii. 36, he makes Eusebius say that Ignatius wrote 'to those in Philadelphia, and to Polycarp, who was bishop there;' but his words are really: 'Ignatius wrote to those in Philadelphia, and to the church of Smyrna, and specially to their bishop Polycarp.' In v. 28, for, 'After this author had superintended the church,' it should be, 'After he (Victor) had superintended,' &c. In v. 20, he represents Irenæus asserting that 'he was the first that received' the apostolic succession; instead of, 'He received the primitive succession.'

only here notice a few that seem of theological importance. In the opening of the work, the Author makes various formal statements concerning the divine nature of Christ, in some of which we think the translator has made Eusebius's views unduly approximate to those advocated by Dr. Moses Stuart. In p. 7, he most strangely has the words: 'Called the Son of God by reason of his final appearance in the flesh;' a notion maintained indeed by Stuart, but allowed by him to be fundamentally opposed to all the Catholic authorities of antiquity. The original is; *υἰὸν ἀνθρώπου διὰ τὴν ὑστάτην αὐτοῦ ἐνανθρώπησιν χορηματίζοντα*—'Called the Son of *Man* by reason of his final assumption of *manhood*.' So in p. 4, he makes the author say that Christ is a '*self-existing* substance, ministering to the Father and God of all, &c. But the Greek is *ὑφεστῶσα*, which means *subsisting, real, not self-existing*; and is opposed to *figurative*, existing as an abstraction of man's mind. He meant to say that by the reason and wisdom of God, was to be understood, not a mere quality or faculty of the Father, but 'a subsisting entity.' The doctrine obtruded on him, is contrary to that held by Catholics of his day, and contrary to his own words immediately following; where he quotes from Prov. viii. (LXX. version,) 'The Lord created me in the beginning of his way, for his works:' so in p. 10, he quotes Ps. cx. 3, 'I begat thee from the womb, before the morning star.' It was his doctrine, as that of Athanasius and the rest, that only the Father is unbegotten and self-existent; but the Son is begotten and derived, even as regards divinity. We are forced to say, that the translator appears to be somewhat unfair in this matter. In the following page, Eusebius calls the Lord *σοφία πρωτόγονος καὶ πρωτόκτιστος*, 'Wisdom first begotten and first created,' alluding probably to Prov. viii. already quoted, and to Col. i. 15, Rev. iii. 26; but the translator, in place of *first created*, substitutes, *existing before all creatures*. Indeed, his anxiety to conceal even the imputation upon Eusebius, is such, that he defends him from it only in *Latin* notes, while all his other notes are in English: thus, pp. 382, 393, 394, and even in the midst of an English note, breaks out into Latin. Without wishing to end by saying any thing severe, we are led from the specimens of the notes to feel no regret that there are so few. Indeed, when our translator repeats the flippant and absurd dogma that a Catholic church is one which holds, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, it is clear that he so shuts his eyes to facts, that he might with Romish complacency hold any of his own doctrines to have been 'universally' received.

Art. II. 1. *Thoughts on the Past and Present State of Religious Parties in England.* By ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D., Professor of Ancient and Modern History in University College, London. Jackson and Walford.

2. *Dilemmas of a Churchman, arising from the Discordant Doctrines and Political Practices of the Clergy of the Establishment.* By CHARLES LUSHINGTON, Esq., M.P. Second Edition. Ridgway.

THESE publications are producing a singular effect upon the minds of the less moderate among the parties especially interested in the topics they discuss; and this not so much as they involve the main points of controversy between churchmen and dissenters, as that they exhibit the novel position which the writers appear to have taken in reference to the very different ecclesiastical politics which they profess to repudiate and sustain. To Dr. Vaughan, many a churchman, judging of him by the impression he has received from this work alone, is ready to say, 'Come in, thou blessed of the Lord, why standest thou without?' while not a few dissenters almost suspect his abandonment of their cause on the principal question which justifies their separation from the Established Church, namely, its union with the state. The 'dilemmas' of Mr. Lushington, on the contrary, in the estimation of all high churchmen, have rendered him unworthy of the character he has assumed; while the dissenters regard him with a fraternal complacency, and already welcome him to their fellowship as 'a brother beloved.'

We do not believe that either of these gentlemen has given just occasion to the parties they have thus provoked and conciliated to regard them as faithless or lukewarm, or even as in the slightest degree vacillating from their known principles,—the one a staunch dissenter; the other a sincere and liberal churchman. Yet is the impression that prevails easily to be accounted for, and with equal facility we think it may be removed. We shall attempt to do both.

We are not surprised that Dr. Vaughan's inscribing a work on the subject of Dissent to a prelate of the national church, should have excited a good deal of speculation as to his motives and object. Is it courtesy? it has been asked; or is it compromise? We believe it to be neither one nor the other. In presenting the effusions of the meeting-house to a high church dignitary, accustomed to regard both the conventicle and its ministers with aversion and contempt, Dr. Vaughan can scarcely be considered as performing an act of courtesy. A Barrington or a Bathurst, had they been living, might have appreciated such an epistle dedicatory as a compliment offered by an eminent pastor of another Christian communion. But in what light can it be regarded by the Lord Bishop of London, who on so many occasions has rendered him-

self conspicuous for his illiberal treatment of the dissenters? Was *he* likely to receive as a courteous civility the dedication of a work that aims to soften the asperities of churchmen against their nonconforming brethren, who, in his eagerness to extend and perpetuate them, recommended, without having himself perused it, an infamous book to the clergy of his diocese; a book which violates all the decencies of life by poisoning the weapons of controversy, which declares that 'the devil was the first dissenter,' and most unceremoniously abandons the whole body to his delusions now, and to his final custody hereafter?

Something far beyond courtesy then, and so important in the view of Professor Vaughan, as to induce him to risk the charge of impertinent intrusion, must have compelled him to become the public correspondent of a prelate, who is described by the canon residentiary of St. Paul's, as himself 'the Church of England here upon earth.' Is it through this its venerable impersonation that the minister of dissent seeks to conciliate the hierarchy towards himself as an individual, and a certain portion of his brethren who are anxious to have it understood that they belong not to that class of Dissenters who are stigmatized as political agitators, and the enemies of religion, because of their strenuous endeavours, by constitutional means, to rid the nation of every civil injustice and oppression arising out of that monstrous engine of both—the church by law established? The colourable support which seems to justify this impression, is derived from Dr. Vaughan's implied admissions in his interrogations, and the somewhat vague statement of his peculiar views on the subject. After stating very fairly and forcibly the wrongs inflicted upon the dissenters by the dominant church, the 'scorn and the contumely which nothing could exceed,' heaped upon them in addition to their hereditary grievances, in the periodical and general literature of churchmen, the Professor bespeaks the bishop's candid interpretation of *the excesses in the conduct of the persecuted and the injured*, into which the prospect of obtaining partial redress may at any time have hurried them. We cannot think that there are many dissenters who will receive with perfect satisfaction, what the following interrogatory appeals imply, and must have conveyed to the mind to whom they were addressed, as well as to others, whose effusions from month to month disgrace the pages of the British Magazine and the Christian Observer.

'It is not, assuredly, in your Lordship's nature, nor in the nature of any educated, honourable mind, to look considerately on the condition of a people beset *with so many obvious, and so many nameless forms of civil disparagement and wrong*, on account of their religion, and then to say of them that they have been *wholly without excuse* in

complaining of grievance, or that they have become justly liable to very heavy censure, if, when the moment for partial redress has seemed to arrive, *their desire of change has been found to carry them somewhat to excess.* It is the force of the previous constraint which determines the strength of the rebound. Thrust men into one unnatural extreme, and you prepare them *to rush into another, in an opposite direction,* on the first opportunity. The elements of *insurgency* are never so *volcanic* as when called forth by the rigours of despotism. *Dissenters are no exception to this tendency in human nature.*

‘If, indeed, we are to consider their vocation to have been, that they should exemplify a perfect intelligence and rectitude in our weak and disordered world, it must be confessed that they have not always appeared in their proper character. In that case, they should have looked so comprehensively, and so profoundly, on the numerous and momentous questions which have recently come into debate, as thoroughly to have understood them. They should have made large allowance for the force of prejudice, and the feeling of interest, in connexion with ancient and opulent institutions. They should have remembered how much there is in the unavoidable weakness of human nature that may lead to self-deception, even in the case of the well-meaning. They should have been careful to acquaint themselves with all the good, as well as the evil, included in the existing order of things, and should have looked to the contingent injuries which changes apparently the most desirable are often found to carry along with them. If precluded from their place as citizens, and scoffed upon and put down in not a few connexions as religionists; they should have known how to be silent under such treatment, or how to have uttered the language of complaint, influenced more by pity and forbearance than by resentment. And *within the last few years especially,* they should, perhaps, have been content with calm and dignified efforts to obtain a removal of their more immediate grievances: and if they had altogether failed in their object, as in that case they probably would, they should have known how to bear such disappointments, so as not to be greatly distressed by them, *and so as to have been capable of returning good for evil, and blessing for cursing!* But, my Lord, does it become our opponents, in the greater part of whom this ‘meekness of wisdom’ has been so lamentably wanting, to demand it from others upon a scale of this sort? Having acted the firebrand during so many long years, is it seemly in these persons to affect astonishment, and a kind of horror, on seeing that *Dissenters are not always engaged in the offices of the peacemaker?* Can it be true charity that is found thus capable of hoping all things on one side, and incapable of bearing with the usual indications of human infirmity on the other? True, my Lord, we are imperfect beings; we have not always spoken wisely, nor acted wisely; but of this I am confident, that from the beginning to this day, we have been a people ‘more sinned against than sinning.’”

—Vaughan, pp. xiii—xvi.

In further accounting for the impression we shall presently combat, that Dr. Vaughan is less staunch as a Dissenter than

those whose zeal he censures by implication as inconsistent with 'calm and dignified effort,' and who believe that 'the question of questions' is the severance of church and state, we quote what we doubt not has been greatly misunderstood by the unreflecting on both sides.

'The great charge against us, so far as I am able to ascertain, is, that we are aiming at nothing less than the destruction of the Established Church. Now it is not denied that the principles of Congregationalism are opposed to the existence of any civil establishment of Christianity. But it is one thing to be persuaded that a nation might have chosen a wiser course than it has done, and another to fall into a justly censurable mode of proceeding, in order to correct a prevalent error. It may be strictly lawful that there should be no Established Church; but in the state of society existing in England it may be far from expedient. The whole question, though truly one of principle, *is also one to be determined, in a great degree, by circumstances.* While the social system of England shall be what it is, and while the prevalent feeling in favour of an Established Church shall be what it is, *there ought, as I conceive, to be such a church.* The Dissenter may say, that the State, in this respect, is exercising a power which it ought not to have assumed; but *so long as the State is not so persuaded, it should not be expected to relinquish the policy which has naturally resulted from its different consciousness of duty.* Principle, on this great question, may be of as much moment to the Churchman as to the Dissenter. And if there are Dissenters, who, having looked to the monarchy and to the court of England; and to the prepossessions, on this subject, of the persons who constitute the upper, and even the lower House of Parliament; and have expected to see these parties concur in any thing approaching toward an extinction of the State Church, such expectation must surely have been indulged in some of those delusive moments when the passions do not allow the understanding to perform its proper office. But, my Lord, if there are circumstances which seem to require that *there should be an Established Church*, it should be remembered that there are other circumstances which demand, and not at all less imperatively, that it should be one of moderate pretensions. If there be a majority to combine in support of such a church, there is a minority dissenting from it, and one sufficiently powerful to render it necessary that the Endowed Communion should bear their faculties meekly. Were the Church of England to become so far intolerant as to disgust the liberal portion of her members, and to occasion their withdrawal in any great number to the side of Dissent, her days, secure as she may now seem, might not be many.

'On the whole, my Lord, my own humble conviction in regard to the Church of England, and that, as I believe, of Dissenters generally, is, not that she should be demolished, or despoiled, *but that she should be regarded as pertaining to the religion of the majority, according to the real state of things in England, and not as embodying the religion of the nation*, according to the perfect theory of an Ecclesiastical

Establishment, as carried out in Portugal or Spain; that on this ground, such a period should be put to the ecclesiastical favouritism of the State, as may prevent any further grants of public money or exclusive privilege to the Endowed Church; and that in regard to the few matters which as Dissenters we still feel to be vexatious indications of civil inferiority in consequence of our religious preferences, we should continue to seek a removal of them until it be obtained.'

—ib., pp. xvi.—xix.

In attempting to vindicate dissenters as a body from the charge 'of aiming at nothing less than the destruction of the Established Church,' perhaps Dr. Vaughan might have more happily expressed his own sentiments on the general question; and we regret that he should lay himself open to misapprehension in such sentences as those we have printed in italics. They would seem to convey the idea that the Professor thinks it right to oppose expediency to principle, by denying a thing to be lawful and yet pleading for its continuance on the mere ground of its existence. To this objection, which we have heard from more than one quarter, we reply, that the expediency for which Dr. Vaughan contends, regards a choice of measures, and the period and the manner of urging them, in order most effectually to accomplish the destruction of whatever is unlawful in the existence of an Establishment. We cannot for a moment imagine when he admits that 'the principles of congregationalism are opposed to the existence of any civil establishment of Christianity,' that he can desire congregationalists to compromise their principles, or to cease from attempting to remove the great obstacle that separates them from the fellowship of a large portion of the universal church. That Dr. Vaughan cannot mean this, whatever party ingenuity may be able to extract from the Dedication, is sufficiently evident from the work itself. We refer to an admirable paragraph on this very point. Addressing his dissenting hearers, he says:

'We have gone up at once to the times of the New Testament, and have determined to unlearn every thing not to be learnt there. And have we not done well in being thus decided and thus bold? But having learnt by so doing to set at nought the terrors of superstition, and having cast off the bands of a haughty priesthood, is it when we come to the question concerning the province of the magistrate in regard to religion that we must begin to do homage to error,—and all, forsooth, because it is very prevalent and has lasted very long? If it be come to this, then let us go out upon the spaces of the past, and learn the *whole* of the lesson it has to teach; let us cease to be the men we have supposed we were, and let us fall back in all things upon that state of childhood which we have flattered ourselves with having outgrown. But we are not, I presume, disposed to furnish any such exemplification of consistency.'—ib., p. 18.

There are two statements in this somewhat untoward letter to the Bishop of London, which are indeed substantially one, that have drawn upon the writer animadversions which prove at least the jealousy with which the dissenters are accustomed to regard every thing that looks like concession to the Established hierarchy. While we acquit Dr. Vaughan of at all intending to concede in the slightest point to the principle which he condemns, we cannot help sympathising with the feeling which the following sentences have awakened in many bosoms. 'While the social system of England shall be what it is, and while the Protestant feeling in favour of an Established Church shall be what it is, *there ought, I conceive, to be such a church.*' 'My own humble conviction in regard to the Church of England, and that, as I believe of dissenters generally, is, 'not that she should be demolished, or 'despoiled, but that she should be regarded as 'pertaining to the 'religion of the majority.'

This certainly is language to which the dissenters are unaccustomed, and which churchmen hail from such a quarter with exultation. We mean, of course, the simple declaration that the Church of England, because it pertains to the religion of the majority, ought to be continued in the plenary possession of its exclusive temporal privileges in union with the state. We do not know of any dissenters who desire that the Episcopal Church should either be despoiled or demolished—but we believe that every conscientious dissenter, from the sacred reverence he pays to the divine Law-giver, as well as from the deep interest he feels in maintaining the civil equality of all sects, and his conviction that every act of legislation which makes a *compulsory provision for any church*, is an injustice and a wrong inflicted both on the religious and the social principle;—we believe that every such dissenter must repudiate with all his heart the doctrine, that a state may establish a church pertaining to the majority of a nation which is to draw its resources *equally from the whole*, not only taking from them their property without their consent, and without an equivalent, but at the same time violating their consciences and compelling their allegiance to a hierarchy whose claims they deny, and whose fellowship they renounce. The moment a state presumes to legislate in matters of religion, with its rewards and emoluments, its pains and penalties, that moment it steps beyond its legitimate province—from that moment legislation ceases to be the plain and simple thing, which, as an ordinance of God, to maintain civil rights and social happiness, it was ordained to be; the machinery becomes involved: antagonist authorities belonging to two separate worlds, are forced into monstrous coalition—and the relations of citizens and subjects are merged in the aggressive and odious distinctions which spring out of theological dogmas, or different forms of

ecclesiastical polity ; and thus the whole community are divided into the favoured and the oppressed—the privileged and the persecuted : the churchman, with the seven heavens of the hierarchy opening golden visions to his cupidity and ambition—the dissenter, doomed to civil degradation, proscription, and contempt.

With dissenters, these views of state interference with religion have long been cherished as household principles. They would have resisted the original assumption, however overwhelming the majority that might have proposed it ;—and are they to remit a religious and sacred hostility, as Christian men, to what they deem a usurpation of the rights of the great Lord of conscience, because it has been maintained through a course of centuries? Can time sanctify the enormity? As the friends of constitutional freedom, of just and impartial liberty, because they have been compelled to submit to a tricentenary of oppressions and wrongs, are they to listen to the persuasions of the state as though it possessed a conscience and a mind to be reasoned with, when the subject is no less than the redress of grievances which have involved the sacrifice of their dearest rights as members of the body politic? We are persuaded that Professor Vaughan does not mean to convey, in the sentence we shall now submit to his attention, what the enemies of the dissenters impute to him. ‘The dissenter may say, that *the state* in this respect is exercising a power which it ought not to have assumed ; but, so long as *the state* is not so persuaded, it should not be expected to relinquish the policy which has naturally resulted from its different consciousness of duty. Principle in this great question may be of as much moment to *the churchman* as to the dissenter.’ If this observation mean any thing, does it not go far to forbid dissenters taking any measures to induce, on the part of the state, the relinquishment of a policy of which they have reason to complain, on the ground that such relinquishment would compel the state to violate its conscience? By the state we suppose Dr. Vaughan must intend the councils of the majority so far as they control or direct the work of legislation.

Are then the dissenters to leave these counsellors to themselves? Because the lords and commons in parliament assembled, chose in the sacred name of religion to perpetuate the most flagrant injustice, and to urge the plea of conscience in their defence, are those who suffer daily aggression from imposts and taxes to build and repair the edifices of a church from which they conscientiously separate, quietly to bear it all? are they to be despoiled of the fruit of their labour, to support a priesthood in luxury, that fulminate against them the terrors of damnation? Without petition or remonstrance ; without using all their civil and social influence in every capacity they sustain in life, are they quietly and for ever to succumb to a tyranny, rendered infinitely odious by urging the plea of conscience

to justify its impious violation. What can be more galling to the oppressed and wronged, than for the majority conscience to avail itself of its civil strength, to wound and to violate the minority conscience, by taking a mean and cruel advantage of its power of endurance? We confess that we have little sympathy when the state complains, that the restoration of human rights to those who have long been deprived of them goes strongly against its conscience. We are reminded of Milton's reply to the complaint of Charles I., that the enemies of his tyranny wanted to wrest from him the incommunicable jewel, his conscience—'our complaint, on the contrary, 'is,' said Milton, that 'he would have his conscience not an incommunicable, but a universal conscience, the whole kingdom's conscience. Thus what he seems to fear we should ravish from him, 'is our chief complaint that he obtruded upon us: we never forced 'him to part with his conscience, but it was he that would have forced 'us to part with ours?' The distinction between the conscience of one part of the community and that of another, which gives the majority a right to impose its terms of communion upon the minority, or to deprive them of their civil and social privileges as members of the state, is a palpable desecration of the sacredness of conscience, and a fundamental error in legislation. We cannot amalgamate what is essentially one. Conscience must stand alone in its own hallowed individuality. What is it but disguised popery to constitute a certain aggregate of consciences, a high commission court to subjugate all the consciences in the land? Every man is bound to obey the dictates of his own conscience, irrespective of all human, all legislative authority. There is no medium between this and the conscience which Charles and Laud attempted to bind upon the people as a badge of slavery, but which they indignantly refused to wear, and which cost the great criminals that would have imposed it, the forfeiture of their heads on the scaffold. It is humbling to contemplate a puissant nation, like that of England, after having achieved its liberties, submitting to a second and even more degrading enthrallment. But the sun is again rising, and conscience will, at last, be free, notwithstanding the veto of the state, and the unguarded assertion of Dr. Vaughan, that considering the Protestant feeling and the present social system of England, 'there ought to be an Established Church.' Yet the friends of conscience must be true to themselves.

What course Dr. Vaughan would recommend to them, he has not sufficiently indicated. From what we have been able to gather from his pages, he is far from being satisfied with the past conduct of the Dissenters. Their efforts have not been 'calm and dignified'—they have 'not always been engaged in the 'office of the peace-maker;' their 'desire of change' when a favourable opportunity has presented itself 'has been found to 'carry them somewhat to an excess.' We are free to confess,

that *we* have not so read the records of the past. For the present state of party feeling which is distracting the country from one end to the other, the established churches of England and Scotland have only themselves to blame. In labouring to obtain a redress of their peculiar grievances, it does not seem to us that the dissenters have been betrayed into violence, nor in any instance have they invaded the law. Agitation has been resorted to on one question only, and that was provoked by the constant aggressions of the hierarchy and its increasing rapacity: while church-rates exist, we trust this agitation will never cease. It is a grave question, and one which we should have been glad to see met by Professor Vaughan, namely; what ought to be the conduct of the dissenters at the present crisis? If as he tells us, we 'have gone up at once to the times of the 'New Testament,' 'and have determined to unlearn every thing not to be learnt 'there;' then surely we can never, for a moment, admit, that one sect should claim superiority over another, or that any church has a right to restrain the free exercise of private judgment or the most perfect liberty of conscience. We must denounce with a lofty indignation every interference of a human legislature to constitute and to govern the churches of Christ. Nor with the 'New Testament' in our hands, are we able to imagine circumstances, feelings, or prejudices, affecting the majority or even a whole nation, that can justify us in saying, 'that there 'ought to be an Established Church.' We do not call upon dissenters to form political associations, nor do we desire them with untimely pertinacity to press either their own wrongs, or,—which alone can place all the classes of the community on one equal basis of civil rights,—the severance of the church from the state; but what we do contend for is, the assertion of their principles on all occasions, and the employment of their influence whenever and wherever it can be exerted, for the purpose of teaching the legislature to unlearn on the subject of an ecclesiastical establishment what cannot be found in the 'New Testament,' or in the practice of the primitive church. Passive resistance to iniquitous demands for rates and imposts, may surely be numbered among 'the calm and dignified' measures which may be constitutionally adopted by all who regard them as unjust and unscriptural; and dissenters who possess the least control over the literature of the age, and the various mediums of imparting knowledge to the people, would be no better than renegades from the faith and practice of their fathers, were they not through all these channels to present arguments in favour of universal freedom, and in opposition to every encroachment on the prerogative of their great lawgiver and Lord who has solemnly declared, 'my kingdom is not of this world.' In one word, dissenters who do not seek by all lawful and peaceable efforts the re-

removal of every disability under which they still labour, are unworthy of the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free;—we will not reason with them for ‘they deserve not to have themselves ‘convinced.’ We wish all parties to remember, that the severance of church and state is in strictness a national and not a dissenting question. Christians of every name and sect, and, more especially, the members of the episcopal church who perceive the injury which Christianity sustains by being dragged into association with the State; as well as all the subjects of the British empire, who whether they profess a creed or not, feel the grievous wrongs which this alliance inflicts on a community entitled to the enjoyment of equal rights, and to be governed by equal laws; are all bound to unite in obtaining through the legislature, and, by the force of public opinion, the entire abolition of a system equally at variance with the dictates of the gospel, the security of the state, and the happiness of the people.

Whether Dr. Vaughan has perceived on the part of dissenters generally any indication of an unchristian treatment of the question of the Church of England’s connexion with the State, or any unconstitutional agitation of it in public assemblies and on political occasions, he has given us no opportunity of judging; and some are of opinion, that in thus opening the subject with the Bishop of London, he has left too much to the uncharitable surmises of our enemies, while he has needlessly alarmed some who have usually ranked themselves among his warm admirers. But let the whole of his volume be read, and let some of the passages quoted be seriously considered, and the churchman need not proudly rear his crest, nor the dissenter feel his own abased. He that has personally resisted the payment of church-rates in his own neighbourhood; who, in an able exposition of the iniquity of this impost, has taught the same practical lesson to his brethren; and we may add for the satisfaction of the ‘Christian Observer,’ he who still retains his connexion with this journal, and continues to favour it with his contributions, however mistaken by some and misrepresented by others, must ever be regarded as one of the ablest champions of dissent, and, therefore, an equally decided foe of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny.

We can easily imagine a sensitive mind like that of Dr. Vaughan feeling as if the hallowed cause of religious freedom suffered contamination when touched by the rude and impious hands of a worldly infidelity, and this may probably account for the style and tone of some portions of his work. But let him, at the same time, remember that the union of men of this character with pious dissenters in promoting a common object is purely accidental, and that this union is more apparent than real; that while dissenters aim at the attainment of that liberty which

will secure to them their rights as citizens, as well as prevent the ecclesiastical favouritism of the 'state from bestowing any further grants of public money, or exclusive privilege on the 'endowed church'—the object of merely worldly men, call them infidels, radicals, or what you please, is to pull down existing and glaring abuses which are our national disgrace, and which equally affect the whole community, the infidel and the catholic, the churchman and the dissenter. Are the dissenters to blame, because, while the potsherds of the earth strive with the potsherds of the earth, they exert themselves to save and perpetuate all that can be retained of pure and useful in an institution, which the infatuation of some, and the irreligion of others have devoted to destruction. We mean the Episcopal Church of England, of which those who would sever her from the state are the best conservatives;—an institution which, when it falls, will fall by suicidal hands—or to preserve a favourite metaphor dear to churchmen, the venerable 'MOTHER,' will perish under the parri- cidal strokes of her own faithless sons.

But it is time to notice the work on the preliminary portion of which we have felt it to be our duty to offer these few friendly animadversions. Detained so long in the porch, we can only catch a glimpse of the interior of the temple, and this we the less regret, as we trust we have done something towards opening it to the candid of all churches. These 'thoughts on the past and present 'state of religious parties in England,' which are the substance of a discourse delivered on the second of January last, in Union-street chapel, Southwark, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of that chapel, are valuable on many accounts; but in our view, chiefly, as they trace the growth and vigour of a principle which for centuries has had to struggle against pride and prejudice—the spirit of the court, the laws of the land, the persecutions of the church, and the brutal ignorance of the people; like the first lion, having reared his head above the surface, pawing himself, by continued and repeated efforts, from the rugged soil, till he became the free and independent ranger of the forest. To this principle, to this great truth, we are thus introduced by the author.

'The progress of truth, in every form,' he tells us, 'is the progress of the free principle, however much the ignorance and selfish passions of mankind, strengthened, perhaps, by artificial circumstances, may tend, for a time, to impede or divert its natural course of action. It is the case with the several departments of truth, as with all the great objects which discipline the human faculties—there is not only harmony between them, but a kindred principle pervading them, so that the successful study of any one prepares the way to a more adequate knowledge of others, until the whole circle is brought, by this law of association, under the full light and cognizance of the mind. In this

manner the progress of the arts favoured the revival of letters, and both conduced powerfully to the reformation of religion as achieved by Luther. Between all such things there is a constant action and reaction; and while affinities bring them together, combination gives them power to make free.

‘In the history and present position of the body of Protestant dissenters distinguished as holding the principles of congregationalism, we see an instructive illustration of these remarks. In England, the adoption of this system has always been attended by loss and suffering, particularly under the last of the Tudors, and under the house of Stuart. Its continued existence, accordingly, must be viewed as the effect of a strong conviction *somewhere* in regard to its truth. Consistently with this view of it, we find its voice raised at all times on the side of free discussion and unrestricted liberty; and, though long regarded as a most pestilent heresy on this account, it has remained steadfast in its demands on these points, until ‘the little one has become a thousand,’ and myriads who have not imbibed its temper to the full are constrained to do homage to it in part. It is not difficult to trace the steps by which the truth, allied with these generous sentiments, has been rendered so expansive and efficient. The personal responsibility of man in matters of religion, was the great truth proclaimed by the Reformation. By the pious men whose names are conspicuous in the early history of congregationalism, that truth was not only embraced with much sincerity, but was seen with a clearness long peculiar to themselves in the great results to which it leads. In this one principle there was a ray of light, which could not be made to bear exclusively on the false authority of popes and conclaves. On the contrary, it fell with no less effect on all kindred forms of ecclesiastical power, and led to the adoption of many other principles, all in harmony with each other, and with the one source from which they were derived. Thus, to be made free from one error, was to be freed from many more which had long existed in natural alliance with it. By the same law, the mind passes from the principles of ecclesiastical to those of civil freedom; and thus viewed, the most feeble and scattered elements of truth, whether natural, moral, or religious, will appear as a prolific seed, the germination of which is in the way of a constant tendency toward an ever-growing freedom.’—ib. 2—4.

The section which states the present position of English congregationalism, as it is the last, so it is in every view, the most valuable portion of the work. It seems that one feature of congregationalism continues unchanged; in this respect it is now what it was from the beginning, ‘*it finds the body of its adherents among the middle class.*’ A comparison of its present condition with that exhibited in its former history shews its similarity, in some respects, to the little stone cut out of the mountain without hands—it has grown prodigiously in numbers; it has achieved to a marvellous extent its own freedom—its civil grievances are melting fast away, while its religious influence is widening and strengthening, *by its greater activity*; the greater average of

ability with which all its offices are filled, and the restless spirit for social improvement which characterises the times, and of which the dissenters participate in no ordinary degree. The growth of the principle in the form of multiplication, is thus developed.

‘In the southern, or Surrey suburb of London, where, two centuries ago, the only persons meeting for the worship of God except in the manner enjoined by the state, were those included in the small brotherhood which is still represented by the church assembly in Union-street, there are now about fifty congregational churches including independents and baptists; and the largest portion of accommodation for persons so disposed to meet for the worship of God in that extensive district, if we take in all denominations, has been provided, not by the state, but by the voluntary efforts of the population. Thus, in a locality where, two hundred years since the state did little for religion, and the people nothing, and where almost every man seemed to receive his faith in the shape expounded to him by the two Houses of Convocation, and by the two Houses of Parliament, there has been such a working of the small germ of independency, that all the provision which the state has made for the advantage of its favoured denomination, is equalled, and even surpassed, by that which has sprung from the free and spontaneous zeal of the people themselves. By the side of the principle which is supposed to be so necessary to the existence of religion, but which refuses to do it service except through the machinery of state enactments, we see another make its appearance, having its origin and guidance from the intelligence and feeling which disposes men to consider religion as a matter of individual responsibility, and as of high concernment in their relation to God, rather than to Cæsar; and this last principle, though so recently called into exercise, and acted upon in the midst of artificial circumstances tending to place the selfishness and prejudice of multitudes in the most determined array against it, is seen taking precedence of the former one as a source of provision for the religious wants of the surrounding community. Nor is this peculiar to the Surrey suburb of the metropolis; it is rather a sample of what has taken place, with slight variation, in every populous department of the country. It is admitted, they are not all congregationalists who are now acting, more or less, and with so much general effect, on this principle; but it was reserved to the body so designated to bring out this principle, and to procure for it the various amount of practical homage which is now rendered to it.

‘Congregationalism is not like methodism, a system of compromise and adjustment, formed in deference to the prejudice and feeling of the hour. It is the effect of a devout and firm-hearted appeal to the exact nature and design of Christianity; and the result to be expected from principles so adopted has been realized. Derived from what is unalterable in the injunctions and spirit of our benign and holy religion, it has itself been permanent. It has grown with our population, our wealth, and our intelligence, and, especially, with our attachment to even-handed justice, and equal liberty; and whatever its enemies may fondly promise themselves, we are satisfied that its course in the future

will be as in the past. If, in addition to the increase of their numbers, congregationalists are justified in looking on every thing free in the temper and proceedings of the religious bodies around us, as the effect of their early avowed principles, then have they much reason to thank God and take courage. In fact, when searching for encouragement in any effort to do good, our inquiries should never be confined to the positive and unmixed benefit we may have been able to confer. This may be very small, while the evil prevented, and the indirect or partial good bestowed, may be of vast amount.'—ib. 72—74.

The state of the Established Church, of the several parties distinct and belligerent which exist within her pale, and of the third body of methodists occupying a considerable space between the Church of England and the older and more regular dissenters, are subjects treated with great candour, discovering enlightened research and devout wisdom. The solemn and judicious counsels addressed to the congregationalists, deserve the profound, instantaneous, and practical attention of that body. They would do well, without delay, to realise the views of their reverend adviser in giving the utmost efficiency to their public institutions, by encouraging and providing for the increase of learning in their colleges, and thus, especially, raising the standard of ministerial qualification. Most deeply are we impressed with the importance and seasonableness of the suggestions on this last topic. The subject we feel to be a delicate one. But we may ask with concern, What are the actual qualifications of a numerous portion of men who have been, and who may be at this moment, students in our various colleges? Do not many consume funds, and waste resources of the most valuable kind, which, if devoted to individuals of adequate mental powers and moral energy, would raise the dissenting ministry to the elevation which it ought to attain? Young men should not be admitted into our seminaries, who must afterwards be doomed to go the round of our churches only to betray their incapacity, and then to enter upon secular employments because of their universally acknowledged inefficiency as preachers and pastors. We long for the period when ministerial qualification of a high order will be more equally diffused. We want neither giants nor dwarfs. We desire not that one greater star should overpower the less,—but that each should be an orb of glory at least equal to the sphere in which it is destined to move. The ministers demanded by the moral state of the country are men to whom population alone is important, and whose talents and piety will enable them to raise a congregation where none previously existed. We cordially thank Dr. Vaughan for his book. We have freely animadverted on some of its statements, and are assured that none of our readers will commend our doing so more heartily than himself. The narrative is peculiarly interesting; we should be glad to receive many such histories; and we hope that this example, and

that of the Rev. Thomas Adkins, of Southampton, will be followed by many others—and that our dissenting churches will not be without their devout and able chroniclers.

Mr. Lushington's 'Dilemmas of a Churchman,' prove him to be very much of a Churchman indeed, or he never could continue his connexion with an institution, the practical operation of which is so repugnant to his principles and so vexatious to his feelings. We have no doubt, that disclosures like those which this pamphlet contains must have a powerful effect upon the laity within the establishment; and though it is not probable, that they will ever be found in the ranks of dissent, yet if the formal attempt of the Oxford clergy to renounce protestantism as the distinction of the Church of England should succeed—if that party headed by the Bishop of Exeter, should place the canons above the law of the land, and not only claim for their church an independence of the state, but a power and authority which may set it at defiance; if, at the same time, the clergy both evangelical and orthodox should not only preach a crusade against the dissenters, but continue their iniquitous spoliation of their property in the form of imposts and grants from the consolidated fund, for the building of churches and other ecclesiastical purposes; if instead of fundamental reform, by which the establishment may be rendered 'less despotic in its constitution, less secular in its spirit, and less intolerant in its administration,' all reasonable propositions of this nature are scouted, and their authors covered with reproach; if these things concur, and we confess that they seem to us rushing together to a crisis;—we have no doubt, that an immense body of the laity will take the matter into their own hands, and with a few of the clergy who may participate in their views and feelings will effect the severance of the church from the state, simplify its orders, and by one simultaneous volition, rid themselves of the wolves that devour the flock, and the little foxes that spoil the vintage; or that they will form a distinct communion of their own on the basis of an episcopacy which will not seek to affiliate itself on the mother of harlots. We find it more difficult to defend Mr. Lushington from strong dissenting tendencies than to rescue Dr. Vaughan from imputations of an opposite nature. Yet, perhaps, he is the truest churchman who is most anxious for the spiritual efficiency of his system; who looks fearlessly into its corruptions and abuses, and desires to apply a timely and an effectual remedy. Those who charge the liberal members of their communion with being dissenters, are hardly aware of what the imputation implies. According to this doctrine no man can be a consistent churchman who is not intolerant—who is not a blind and furious bigot. Mr. Lushington is not a churchman of this stamp; yet may he be found somewhere in the sacred inclosure, though certainly not in the *media* of Dr. Pusey.

At least Mr. Lushington, as the church is now constituted, has quite as good a right to put in his claim of membership as the clergymen who figure in the following quotation with which, for the present, we take leave of the publications before us. At parting, however, we cannot refrain from paying a tribute of respect to Mr. Lushington—to which from us especially he is justly entitled—and in which we are persuaded the liberal of all parties and churches will heartily concur. As an enlightened statesman, a useful member of the community at large, and a Christian, mild, firm, intelligent, and superior to sectarian antipathies, he occupies a distinguished place among the benefactors of his age and country.

‘Allusion has been made to the divisions of opinion among the clergy of the establishment. If these controversies had been on unimportant points, the clergy might have been left alone with their wrangling; but it becomes a serious subject of anxiety, when the doctrines preached and disseminated by one section of the Established Church are denounced by the other. The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was charged in November, 1836, by a clergyman of the Church of England, with ‘having put forth twelve volumes of tracts, so unfit, in his judgment, for the purpose of circulation, that he studiously concealed them from the eyes of his family, as unsound and delusory statements of the truth of the gospel.’ A sermon on death, by the Rev. Mr. Beresford, appears to have been adopted as a tract by the above society, ‘on which the clerical editor of the ‘Record’ pronounced, that the men who approved of its circulation had no ‘conception of the nature, sanctions, and requirements of the gospel of our salvation;’ that they were ‘blind leaders of the blind;’ and that in the tracts which they approved, ‘the gospel of Christ is either not preached at all, or is so blended and encrusted with error, as to rob it of all its freeness, clearness, and glory; so that the unhappy readers are led away by their instrumentality to another gospel which is not another. The unfortunate theology of Dr. Spry is declared to be ‘darkness visible.’ Another clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Acaster denouncing ‘the poisonous influence of the establishment’ on the spiritual character of the ministry of the Church, speaks ‘of millions being lost for ever and ever from that cause.’

‘‘The system inculcated in the Oxford Tracts,’ says the Christian Observer, edited by a clergyman of the establishment, ‘even weeping, we believe to be anti-evangelical, anti-protestant, and a snare of our ghostly enemy to impede the progress of the gospel of Christ, and to endanger the souls of men.’ On the other hand, the Rev. Mr. Newman, the editor of the Oxford Tracts, while seeking for what he calls a *via media* between Romanism and Protestantism, not only admits* in a sub-

* Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, &c. By John Henry Newman, B.D.

stantial sense the allegation of the Roman Catholics, that scarcely ten or twenty neighbouring clergymen in the English church can agree even in its elementary and necessary doctrines, but openly pronounces, that 'in the church by itself,' 'even among its appointed ministers and teachers,' 'may be found differences as great as those which separate Greece from Rome.'

'Speaking of the new Oxford school of opinions in matters of church and state, to which Dr. Pusey belongs, the Edinburgh reviewer (in a recent number) remarks upon the extraordinary fact, that 'numbers, especially among the clergy heretofore attached to what are called evangelical principles, have gone over and fraternised with the new sect, with which they had no one quality in common but enthusiasm;—passing, as it were, without an effort from one pole to the other of religious opinion and sentiment, for the sake of the new excitement.' The school in question is characterized as forming 'one of the three extremes of opinion, the other two being represented by the evangelicals and the Latitudinarians, which are comprehended within the church's tolerant embrace.' 'The alliance may subsist tolerably well, as long as the confederates are sunk together in the darkness of opposition.

'Concordes animæ nunc et dum nocte premuntur;
Heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitæ
Aspiciant, quantas acies stragemque ciebant!'

'Should they ever emerge into the day-light of power, the ill-concealed contrast of parties and principles will soon burst out into open hostility, and end in permanent separation.' (Ed. Rev. No. cxxxiv. p. 412—415).

'This view of the state of the Church as composed of three extreme parties, agreeing in the dark, bound by law to uniformity, yet at the opposite poles of religious opinion and sentiment, and incapable of permanent union, allowing it to be correct, is ill-adapted to alleviate the dilemmas of a thoughtful churchman. The want of steadiness of opinion among the evangelicals, as indicated by the numerous converts to the tenets of Dr. Pusey, is also a staggering circumstance; more especially when taken in connexion with the extensive spread of the millenarian fanaticism among the same class, and the still more melancholy instances of evangelical clergymen who have become followers of Irving, and believers in the tongue.'—pp. 52—56.

Art. III. *The Rural Life of England.* By WILLIAM HOWITT.
In 2 vols. London: Longman & Co. 1838.

TO the unpractised nothing appears easier than Essay-writing. But this is altogether a mistake. The simplicity of Addison, in particular, and the easy flow of Goldsmith, will be found very difficult of imitation. We know that Addison's papers, with all their smoothness and apparent spontaneity, were elaborated slowly and with great pains. And the style of Goldsmith was the result of many years passed in study, the fruit of laborious days and nights, of penury and want, endured by a hack-author writing for his bread. To success in this department of literature, elegance appears to be almost an essential requisite. This is a quality which it is very difficult to define: but the cultivated mind perceives it at once. It requires delicacy of taste, and an exquisite ear, in the author; for language is a kind of music, and its nice construction demands no less skill than in the musical composer. A tolerably good prose style is not uncommon in the present day: but the 'curiosa felicitas,' the 'words that burn,' are the result of a rare combination of genius and taste. This felicitous collocation, this perfect charm of words, is more frequently found in poetry than in prose, and is an essential element in poetical composition. It is beautifully exemplified in the eclogues and the *Æneid* of Virgil; in the poetry of Milton, who, realizing his own description in *Comus*,

'Takes the prison'd soul, and laps it in Elysium;'

and, among modern poets, in Gray, Rogers, and Campbell. We have seldom felt the magic spell of language so irresistible as in these authors. Poets have been thought to write the best prose, having gained facility by their poetical efforts. Of this Goldsmith and Cowper are illustrious examples: to whom may be added Scott, Byron, and Southey. But perhaps no English prose author of the present day altogether equals the late Robert Hall for that charm of language, which at once delights the ear, and penetrates the heart. It is a charm which is indescribable and irresistible.

We have made these remarks because beauty of style is one great means by which many of our Essayists gained their celebrity. And we wish that our young readers, who are meditating attempts of a similar kind, would labour to acquire the same simplicity of thought and expression, and the same elaborate polish. The labour will not be lost. Beautiful sentiments, on whatever subjects, have a ten-fold charm when accompanied with the fascination of musical words.

Mr. Howitt's '*Rural Life of England*,' is a series of Essays

which, though they have one common title, are on separate and independent subjects. It is unquestionably a work of no ordinary interest. He has engaged in it with the ardor of an enthusiastic admirer of nature, and is a keen and shrewd observer of human manners and customs. His book is rendered more interesting by copious extracts from various authors; and he pours a flood of light, both borrowed and original, on whatever object he exhibits to his readers. Much, however, as we admire these volumes, and interesting as we have felt them as a whole, they are not altogether to our taste. Their style is occasionally objectionable, and is evidently formed on a bad model. A book which treats of the beauties of nature ought to be characterized by eminent simplicity: it cannot otherwise be in accordance with its subject. Oratorical flourishes and high-flown phrases are here out of their place. When Mr. Howitt writes simply and plainly he writes well; but there are occasionally very evident attempts to be fine, there is sometimes a straining for effect in that semi-poetical diction which is so common among an inferior class of writers in the present day. This is unworthy of the author, who is capable of better things than to imitate the turgid compositions of *Blackwood's Magazine*. This imitation, which we had suspected as we went through the first volume, we found almost confessed at the commencement of the second, where he eulogises 'that wonderful series of articles by 'Wilson, in *Blackwood's Magazine*,—in their kind, as truly 'amazing, and as truly glorious, as the romances of Scott, or the 'poetry of Wordsworth.'

Having thus freely mentioned Mr. Howitt's faults, we must, in common justice, point out his excellencies. The very title is a recommendation to the book; for all classes of persons either are, or affect to be, enamoured of a country life. The inhabitants of cities, and especially of the metropolis, eagerly seize an opportunity of breathing the country air; and descriptions of rural scenery and customs are doubly dear to them, pent up as they are in brick-walls, amid the smoke and pollutions and turmoil of a crowded population. The rural enjoyments of England surpass those of most other countries. If we want the deep blue sky of Italy, and the vines, the olives, and orange-groves of Spain, we have the beauties and luxuries of a more temperate climate in great variety. Fickle as our weather may be, and damp and foggy as is our island, we still have no lack of sunshine. Who has not repeatedly witnessed a sun-rise or sun-set so gorgeous that the very imagination can conceive of nothing more glorious? Foreigners are enraptured with the exquisite cultivation of England, which looks like a vast garden in which art tempers and improves the wildness of nature. We have on a small scale an epitome of the earth, in all its forms of grandeur and beauty:

hills and mountains, woods and forests, rivers and lakes, interspersed with towns and villages, with the mansion and the cottage. The charms of the country multiply with observation. An eye accustomed to perceive its minute beauties looks for them at every step. Every hedge-row is redolent of sweets, and profuse in blossoms. Nature sends up her luxurious shoots from every bank, and arranges them more gracefully than the painter could do with his utmost art. Even her vilest weeds mingle harmoniously with the rest, and help to complete the universal picture. Nothing appears ugly or homely in her grouping. The dock, the thistle, the dandelion, the nettle, are no ungrateful adjunct in the foreground of the landscape. He who views the country with the eye of a painter, sees everywhere masterly touches which no art can imitate. Old and battered buildings are beautified by the pencil of time with innumerable weather-stains broken into every hue; nature has spread her colouring of mosses and lichens on every rock and stone; while the trunk of every tree is itself a world in which the minute forms of vegetation appear in endless variety.

To a mind fully capable of appreciating them, the pleasures of the country are boundless. Yet perhaps none surpass those which are supplied by a garden. Horticulture, in all its branches, is delightful; but the cultivation of flowers is pursued by the genuine flower-fancier with a zest and enthusiasm altogether inconceivable to the uninitiated. Many a poor artizan in our large manufacturing towns finds a delightful recreation in the culture of what are technically called florists' flowers. His polyantheses, auriculas, tulips, ranunculuses, carnations, are the delight of his eyes and his heart. Morning and evening he preserves his health, and lightens his cares by watching over them; shows them with exultation to his friends in their season of bloom; and exhibits them at some annual prize-show to thousands of visitors with as much ambition as stirred the heart of a competitor in the Grecian games. Any thing which tends to encourage a love of gardening adds to the sum of human happiness. The most sacred authority has pointed out this occupation as congenial with man's best dispositions; as encouraging the best feelings of the human heart. A garden was the scene of perfect man's residence, and to dress and keep it was his occupation in the days of his innocence.

These are pure pleasures, entirely uncontaminated and unalloyed by any sinful mixture. The unvitiated mind has a large range, its tastes find a continual gratification in rural scenes, and it is not liable to the satiety and disgust which attend baser pleasures. The ardent lover of nature will find much in Mr. Howitt's volumes congenial to his taste, and that will well repay him for the perusal. A considerable part of his work, however, relates

to things of a more questionable kind. When we turn from the face of nature to the haunts of men, the pure pleasures forsake us: all then becomes mixed; and though there may be much to amuse, there is much to grieve. Field sports and rural pastimes come under this predicament.

It will not be denied that there is something exciting in the chase, whether the object be fox, deer, or hare. The baying of the hounds, the sound of the horns, the shouts of the hunters, the scarlet dresses and picturesque grouping, together with the adventitious interest of the scenery, combine to produce an excitation and glow which to most persons would be irresistible. But there are considerations which, in a humane mind, not hackneyed in field sports, interpose to alloy the pleasure. When pleasure is bought by the infliction of pain which amounts to agony, it will scarcely bear reflection; and we suspect that many a keen sportsman does not altogether like, in his cool moments, to examine too closely into the nature of his emotions. If there be one kind of sport less exceptionable than the rest, it is angling. The delightful treatise of old Izaak Walton on this subject has allured multitudes to the river's brink; and it is difficult to rise from the perusal of it without believing with him that an angler must be necessarily possessed of all the virtues. Yet, in spite of all the delightful old man can say, we cannot help suspecting that there is cruelty in impaling a worm, or baiting with a live frog, though we may, all the time, treat him tenderly, and like a brother. The only real exception which we can find is in favour of fly-fishing, by which we mean, of course, fishing with the artificial fly. Here no more pain is inflicted on the unhappy victim than in the ordinary method of killing animals for food; nor a hundredth part of what is often wantonly inflicted by barbarous butchers and servants: and if the neck of the fish be broken by forcibly turning its head back as soon as it is caught, the suffering is but small, for the death is instantaneous. Fishing with the fly for trout or salmon affords a pleasure which no one knows who is inexperienced in the art. Along the brooks and rivers of Scotland and Wales, and, in England, especially those of Devonshire, the beauties of the scenery tend, in no inconsiderable degree, to increase the pleasure. This pleasure it would perhaps be difficult to analyse; but we apprehend many persons will agree with Paley that, of the various delights of a sufficiently happy life, few have been found more delightful than those enjoyed in fly-fishing.

Mr. Howitt's first volume supplies some animated notices of the various kinds of sport, and we were particularly struck with his description of grouse-shooting in the Highlands of Scotland. The irruption of embryo sportsmen into the moorlands previous to the twelfth of August, is pleasingly told, and will afford the reader much amusement. But we extract a paragraph or two from the

close of this chapter, in which the author has 'a word with the 'too sensitive,' and perhaps he has urged all that can be said on the subject :

'I have not attempted to defend the hunter, the courser, or even the shooter, in the preceding chapter, from the charge of cruelty, which is perpetually directed against them—they are a sturdy, and now a very intelligent people ; often numbering amongst them many of our principal senators, authors, and men of taste, and very capable of vindicating themselves ; but I must enact the shield-bearer for a moment, for that very worthy and much-abused old man, Izaak Walton, and the craft which he has made so fashionable. Spite even of Lord Byron's jingle about the hook and gullet, and a stout fish to pull it, they may say what they will of the old man's cruelty and inconsistency—the death of a worm, a frog, or a fish, is the height of his infliction, and what is that to the ten thousand deaths of cattle, sheep, lambs, fish, and fowl of all kinds, that are daily perpetrated for the sustenance of these same squeamish cavillers ! They remind me of a delicate lady, at whose house I was one day, and on passing the kitchen door at ten in the morning, saw a turkey suspended by its heels, and bleeding from its bill, drop by drop. Supposing it was just in its last struggles from a recent death-wound, I passed on, and found the lady lying on her sofa overwhelmed in tears over a most touching story. I was charmed with her sensibility ; and the very delightful conversation which I held with her, only heightened my opinion of the goodness of her heart. On accidentally passing by the same kitchen-door in the afternoon, six hours' afterwards, I beheld, to my astonishment, the same turkey suspended from the same nail, still bleeding, drop by drop, and still giving an occasional flutter with its wings ! Hastening to the kitchen, I inquired of the cook, if she knew that the turkey was not dead. 'O yes, Sir,' she replied, 'it won't be dead, may happen, these two hours. We always kill turkeys that way, it so improves their colour ; they have a vein opened under the tongue, and only bleed a drop at a time !' 'And does your mistress know of this your mode of killing turkeys ?' 'O yes, bless you Sir, it's our regular way ; missis often sees 'em as she goes to the gardens, and she says sometimes, 'Poor things ! I don't like to see 'em Betty ; I wish you would hang 'them where I should not see 'em !' I was sick ! I was dizzy ! It was the hour of dinner, but I walked quietly away,

And ne'er repassed that *bloody* threshold more !

I say, what is Izaak Walton's cruelty to this, and to many another perpetration on the part of the tender and sentimental ?' * * * *

'I do not mean to advocate cruelty—far from it. I would have all men as gentle and humane as possible ; nor do I agree that because the world is full of cruelty, it is any reason that more cruelty should be tolerated ; but I mean to say, that it is a reason why there should not be so much permission to the greater evils, and so much clamour about the less. Is there more suffering caused by anything than by taking fishes by the net ? Not a thousandth,—not a ten thousandth part !

Where one fish is taken with a hook, it may be safely said that a thousand are taken with the net: for daily are the seas, lakes, and rivers swept with nets; and cod, haddock, halibut, salmon, crabs, lobsters, and every species of fish that supplies our markets, are gathered in thousands, and ten thousands—to say nothing of herrings and pilchards by millions. Over these there is no lamentation; and yet their sufferings are as great—for the suffering does not consist so much in the momentary puncture of a hook, as in the dying for lack of their native element. Then go, those tender-hearted creatures, and feast upon turtles that have come long voyages nailed to the decks of ships in living agonies; upon crabs, lobsters, prawns, and shrimps, that have been scalded to death; and thrust oysters alive into fires, and fry living eels in pans, and curse poor anglers before their gods for cruel monsters, and bless their own souls for pity and goodness, forgetting all the fish-torments they have inflicted.'

'Aye, but,'—they turn round upon you suddenly with what they deem a decisive and unanswerable argument,—'Aye, but they cannot approve of making the miseries of sentient creatures a pleasure.' * * * 'Nobody does seek a pleasure, or make an amusement of the misery of a living creature. The pleasure is in the pursuit of an object, and the art and activity by which a wild creature is captured, and in all those concomitants of pleasant scenery and pleasant seasons that enter into the enjoyment of rural sports,—the *suffering* is only the *casual adjunct*, which you would spare to your victim if you could, and which any humane man will make as small as possible. * * * The principle of chase and taking of prey, which is impressed on almost all living things, from the minutest insect to the lion of the African desert, is impressed with double force on man. By the strong dictates of our nature, by the very words of the Holy Scriptures, every creature is given us for food, our dominion over them is made absolute.'—Vol. I., pp. 63—68.

In attempting to account for the decline of those popular pastimes which gained for our country the name of 'merry England,' Mr. Howitt has the following sensible remarks, which, however, in their abridged form, will be read to disadvantage.

'Amongst the many attempts to account for the sedater cast of the modern popular mind, Mr. Bulwer, in 'England and English,' has attributed it to the spread of Methodism. Had he attributed it to Puritanism, he would have been nearer the mark. Methodism may possibly have done something towards it, but it neither began early enough, nor spread universally enough, to have the credit of this change. The decay of popular festivities has been noticed and lamented by writers for the last century. It has been going on both before and since the rise of Methodism, and is equally felt where Methodism is not allowed to show its face, as where it exercises its fullest power. * * * Mighty and many are the causes which have wrought this great national change; causes which have been operating upon us for the last three-hundred years; and are so intimately connected with our whole

national progress, political and intellectual—with all our growing greatness, with all our glory and our sorrow, that had not Methodism existed, that character would have been exactly what it is.

The Reformation laid the foundation of this change. While we had an absolute pope, and an absolute king; while the people were neither educated, nor allowed to read the Bible, nor to be represented in parliament; while the monarch and a few noble families held all the lands of the kingdom, the lower classes had nothing to do but to follow their masters to the wars, or live easily and dance gaily in time of peace. The retainers of great power, the labourers in the fields, foresters, and shepherds following their solitary occupations, constituted the bulk of the nation. Merchants and merchandise were few; our great trading towns and interests did not exist; the days of newspapers, of religious disputes, of literature, and periodicals were not come. The people were either at work or at play. When their work was over, play was their sole resource. They danced, they acted rude plays, and pantomimes, with all the zest and gaiety of children, for their heads were as unoccupied with knowledge and grave concerns as those of children. * * * It was equally the concern of the civil government and the hierarchy to encourage sports and festivities, to keep them out of dangerous inquiries into their own condition, or rights. * * * While the system continued, this spirit and national character must have continued likewise; but the Reformation burst like a volcano from beneath, and scattered the whole smiling surface into disjointed fragments, or buried it beneath the lava of ruin.

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The struggle with enemies abroad, and with the rapidly maturing spirit of religious freedom at home, kept Elizabeth engaged, and induced in her a rigour of persecution, and in the people a rigour of resistance and the soul of martyrdom. Before the development of these antagonist powers, all lightness fled; singing gave way to preaching and listening; dancing, to running anxiously to know the fate of sufferers, and the doctrines of fresh-springing teachers. So completely had the old relish for merriment and pastimes died out, that her successor, James, endeavoured to compel the people, by the publication of his 'Book of Sports,' to be jocose and gamesome. But it would not do. * * * Charles II., indeed, could revive licentiousness, but he could not bring back the holiday guise of 'the old profession.' And what has been the course of England since? One ever-widening and ascending course of mighty wars, expanding commerce, vast colonization, and the growth of science, literature, and general knowledge. * * * Our minds have been stirred mightily, and, like animals that during their wintry torpor feel no hunger, yet feel it keenly the moment they are awake, they have become hungry for congenial aliment. We have fed on much knowledge, and are no longer children, but full-grown men, with manly appetites and experienced tastes. Could we now sit, as our ancestors did, for nine hours together at a mystery? Could we endure to read through the chronicles and romances of the middle ages—books which spun out their recitals to the most extraordinary length, and were never too long; for books then were few? If we could not,

so neither could the simple pleasures and rural festivities satisfy the peasantry of this. We are the creatures of new circumstances, and of a higher reach of knowledge. A combination of causes, too puissant to be resisted, has made hopeless all return to the juvenilities of the past.'—vol. ii. p. 143—150.

The chapters on forest scenery are admirable; and we can bear witness to the fidelity of our Author's description of the New Forest in particular.

'It has not acquired, like Windsor, too much of a park-like character by containing a royal residence; nor has it been enclosed, and shaped into quadrangular fields: but there it is, in its original extent, vast, wild, stocked with deer; with its alternations of woods and heaths, morasses, and thickets; interspersed with hamlets and farms; and forest-huts, as were the forests of old. As you go from Southampton to Lyndhurst, you have a fine ride through its lower regions, and see enough to make you desire to steal away into the beautiful woodlands. Lovely streams come winding out of its shades, and hasten towards the sea. You get glimpses of forest glades, and peeps under the trees into distant park-like expanses, or heathy wastes. The deer are wandering here and there: here you see whole troops of those ponies peculiar to this forest; pheasants and partridges come often running out on the way before you. All about grow hollies, which were encouraged in most ancient forests for winter browse; and you have glimpses of forest-trees that were enough to enrich all the landscape painters in the work. But if you wish to know really what New Forest is, you must plunge into its very heart, and explore its furthest recesses. You may go on from wood to wood, and from heath to heath; now coming out on the high ground, as on the Ringwood road, the wild forest lying visible for miles around, and the country towards Southampton and to the very sea, all spread out wide and beautifully to the eye:—now descending into profound solitudes, and the depth of woodland gloom. It is a wild, wide region, in which you may satiate yourselves with nature in its primitive freedom.* * * * When you step into the New Forest, you step at once out of the present world into the past. You do not see it existing before your eyes as a remnant of antiquity, but as a portion of it, into which, as by some charm, you are carried. It is not a decaying relic; it is a perfect and present thing. The trees are not scathed and hollow skeletons, except in some few places, but stand the full-grown and vigorous giants of the wood. This is owing to the timber being cut down for the navy ere it begins to perish, and yet being left to attain a sufficient growth, and to furnish vast woods that extend over hill and dale, and give you foot-room for days and weeks without fear of exhausting the novelty. It looks now as it must have looked to the eye of one of our Norman monarchs, except that the marks of the conqueror's ravages and fires are worn out; the ruins of churches and cottages are buried beneath the accumulated mosses and earth of ages; and peaceful smoke ascends from the woodland habitations.'—vol. ii. pp. 84, 85.

Among the multifarious contents of these volumes, many subjects of great interest will be found. There is a beautiful chapter on 'the favourite pursuits of English Cottagers.' We have the country life of the rich and of the poor displayed with equal faithfulness. There is a historical and descriptive account of the gypsies. 'The Terrors of a Solitary House,' are depicted with admirable truth and effect. Out-of-the-way places are brought to light, such as we had previously no knowledge of. The chapters entitled 'Nooks of the World,' and 'Life in the 'Dales of Lancashire and Yorkshire,' will, to most of our readers, be novel and striking. All these are interspersed with personal narrative and adventures, written in a very vivacious manner. We take our leave of Mr. Howitt with quoting one of them from his description of 'the Village Inn,' which will give a fair specimen of his manner in this kind of writing.

'The scene presented is worth describing, as a bit of rural life. About half a dozen villagers occupied the centre of the great circular wooden screen, at one end of which I was seated. Before them stood the common three-legged round table of the country public-house, on which stood their mugs of ale. The table, screen, fire-irons, floor, everything had an air of the greatest cleanness. Opposite to me, in one of the great old elbow-chairs, so common in country inns in the north, some of them, indeed, with rockers to them, in which full-grown people sit rocking themselves with as much satisfaction as children, sat an old man in duffil-grey trowsers and jacket, and with his hat on; and close at my left hand a tall, good-looking fellow of apparently fifty-five, who had the dress of a master stone-mason, but a look of vivacity and knowingness, very different to the rest of the company. There was a look of the wag or the rake about him. He was, in fact, evidently a fellow that in any place or station would be a gay, roystering blade; and if dressed in a court dress, would cut a gallant figure too. He eyed me with that expression which said he only wanted half a word to make himself very communicative.

'The check which my entrance had given to the talk and laughter which I heard on first opening the door, had now passed, and I found a keen dispute going on upon the important question of how many quicksets there are in a yard, when planted four inches asunder. The old man opposite I found was what a punster would term a fencing-master; a planter of fences; a founder and establisher of hawthorn hedges for the whole country round; and out of his profession the dispute had arisen. The whole question hinged on the simple inquiry, whether a quickset was put in at the very commencement of the line of fence, or only at the end of the first four inches. In the first case, there would be evidently nine; in the latter, only eight. The matter in dispute was so simple and demonstrable, that one wondered how it could afford a dispute at all. Some, however, contended there were eight quicksets, and some that there were nine; and to demonstrate they had chalked out the line of fence with its division into yards, and sub-

division into four inches, on the hearth with a cinder; but the dispute still went on as keenly as if the thing were not thus plainly before their eyes, or as disputes continue in a more national assembly on things as self-evident: and many an earnest appeal was made from both sides to the old hedger, who having once given his decision, disdained to return any further reply than by a quiet withdrawal of his pipe from his mouth, a quiet draught of ale, and the simple asseveration of—‘Nay, I’m sure!’ The debate might have grown as tediously prolix as the debates just alluded to, had not my left-hand neighbour, the tall man of lively aspect, turned to me, and, pointing to the cindery diagram on the hearth, said, ‘What things these stay-at-home neighbours of mine can make a dispute out of! What would Ben Jonson have thought of such simpletons? Look here! if these noisy chaps had ever read a line of ‘Homer’ or ‘Hesiod,’ they wouldn’t plague their seven senses out about nothing at all. Why, any child of a twelve-month old would settle their mighty question with the first word it learned to speak. Eight or nine quicksets indeed! and James Broadfoot there who should know rather better than them, for he has plauted as many in his time as would reach all around England, and Ireland to boot, has told them ten times over. Eight or nine numb-skulls, I say!’

‘O!’ said I, a good deal surprised—‘and so you have read ‘Homer’ and ‘Hesiod,’ have you?’

‘To be sure I have,’ replied my mercurial neighbour, ‘and a few other poets too. I have not spent all my life in this sleepy-headed place, I can assure you.’

‘What, you have travelled as well as read then?’

‘Yes, and I have travelled too, master. Ben Johnson was a stone-mason; and if I am not a stone-mason, I am a sculptor, and that is first cousin to it. When Ben Jonson first entered London with a hod of mortar on his head, and a two-foot rule in his pocket, I dare say he knew no more that he had twenty plays in his head, than I knew of all the cherubims I should carve, and the epitaphs I should cut; and yet I have cut a few in my time, and written them too beforehand.’

‘O! and you are a poet too?’ he nodded assent, and taking up his mug of ale, and fixing his eyes steadfastly on me over the top of it as he drunk with a look of triumph—then setting down his mug—And if you want to know that, you have only to walk into the church-yard in the mornning, and there you’ll find plenty of my verses, and cut with a pen of iron too, as Job wished his elegy to be.’ Here however, lest I should not walk into the church-yard, he recited a whole host of epitaphs, many of which must have made epitaph-hunters stare, if they really were put on head-stones.

‘Well,’ I said, ‘you astonish me with your learning and wit. I certainly did not look for such a person in this village—but pray where have you travelled?’

‘O! it’s a long story—but this I can tell you—I have gone so near to the end of the world that I could not put sixpence between my head and the sky?’

'At this, the whole company of disputants forgot their quicksets, lifted their heads and cried. - 'Well done Septimus Scallop. That's a good 'un. If the gentleman can swallow that, he can any thing.'

'O!' said I, 'I don't doubt it.'

'Don't doubt it!' they shouted all at once—'don't doubt it? Why, do you think any man ever could get to where the sky was so low as he could not get in sixpence between his head and it?'

'Yes, he could, and often has done—make yourselves sure of that. If a man has not a sixpence, he cannot put it between his head and the sky; and he is pretty near the world's end too, I think.'

'Here they all burst into a shout of laughter, in the midst of which open flew the door, and a tall figure rushed into the middle of the house, wrapped in a shaggy coat of many capes, dripping with wet, and holding up a huge horn lantern. A face of wonderful length and of a ghastly aspect glared from behind the lantern, and a voice of the most ludicrous lamentation bawled out—'For ——'s sake, lads, come and help me to find my wagon and horses! I've lost my wagon! I've lost my wagon!' Up jumped the whole knot of disputants, and demanded where he had lost it. The man said, 'that while he went to deliver a parcel in the village, the wagon had gone on. That he heard it at a distance,' and cried 'woa! woa! but the harder he cried, and the farther he went, the faster it went too.' At this intelligence, away marched every one of the good-natured crew excepting the wit. 'And why don't you go?' I asked.—'Go! pugh! It's only that soft brother of mine, Tim Scallop, the Doncaster carrier. I'll be bound now that the wagon hasn't moved an inch from the spot he left it in. He has heard the wind roaring, and does not know it from his own wagon wheels! Here these poor simpletons will go running their hearts out for some miles, and then they will come back and find the horses where he left them. I could go and lay my hand on them in five minutes. But they are just as well employed as in grinning Mrs. Tappit's hearth-stone. Never mind;—I was telling you of what the hostler said to Ben Jonson, when Ben was reeling home early one morning from a carouse, and Ben declared that he was never so pricked with a horse-nail-stump in his life—

BEN.—Thou silly groom
Take away thy broom,
And let Ben Jonson pass:

GROOM.—O! rare Ben!
Turn back again,
And take another glass!

'Septimus Scallop, laughed at the hostler's repartee, and I laughed too, but my amusement had a different source from his. There was something irresistibly ludicrous in the generous rushing forth of the whole company to the aid of the poor carrier, except the witty brother! But he was quite right: in about an hour, in came the good-

natured men, streaming with rain like drowned rats, and declaring, that after running three miles and finding no wagon, they bethought themselves of turning back to where the carrier said it was last; and there they had nearly run their noses against it, standing exactly where he left it.

• So much for the village inn.'—vol. ii. pp. 238—243.

And so much for plain, sensible English. This is a great deal better than semi-poetical prose.

Art. IV. *Speeches of Henry Lord Brougham, upon Questions Relating to Public Rights, Duties, and Interests; with Historical Introductions, and a Critical Dissertation upon the Eloquence of the Ancients.* 4 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. London: Longman and Co.

IT has lately become the fashion for great men to superintend the publication of their *collected* works, and instead of entrusting their fame to the care of some chance-editor, to take an opportunity of pleading their own cause with posterity; of explaining what is intricate, and illustrating what is obscure; of clearing up allusions, and rendering asterisks and dashes significant. All this is done by notes of their own, instead of leaving the said notes to be supplied from the judgment, the conjecture, the fancy, the ignorant self-sufficiency, or blind partialities of the commentator. This custom we deem a laudable one. If there have been one or two individuals of somewhat doubtful claims to immortality, who have been needlessly solicitous about the superintendence of their 'whole works'—who have been superfluously anxious to set themselves right with posterity without asking themselves whether posterity will at all trouble itself about the matter—who have, so to speak, been employed in ceremoniously celebrating their own exequies—performing the part of their own undertakers—emblazoning their fore-doomed productions in fair type, and embalming them in goodly paper;—if there have been one or two such, it cannot be denied that we owe to this custom some of the most interesting editions of collected works, which have ever issued from the press. We need name only the Scott edition of the Waverly Novels, Southey's Works, and now, the Speeches of undoubtedly the greatest orator, and in many other respects, one of the most remarkable men of the present day. Such, we are convinced, all our readers will admit the Right Honorable Lord Brougham to be, whatever the views they may take of some portions of his recent political conduct, and whether

their estimate of his political character in general be favorable or otherwise.

There are not a few, once enthusiastic admirers of this great man, who have been exceedingly dissatisfied with some things he has of late done, and with still more that he has said. Of these grounds of dissatisfaction we shall speak briefly by and bye. But we trust never to forget—what many seem in danger of forgetting—that he has been for more than thirty years identified with every cause dear to the hearts of his countrymen; that of every such cause he has been the most unwearied and consistent advocate, and to its furtherance devoted the whole of his all but superhuman energies. We never can forget that to him—directly or indirectly—England is *more* indebted than to any other living man, for the advancement of education—the abolition of slavery—the maintenance and extension of liberty, whether civil or religious; and to him, *as much* as to any man, for parliamentary reform, and the consequent reforms of all other kinds;—for that new adjustment of power, that introduction of a sanative element into our constitution, which, if it will not always secure a good government, will infallibly preserve the people, so long as they please, from a very bad one; and, neutralizing the very corruptionists themselves, compel them, should they regain office, to do no mischief if they will do no good, and to do good if they do any thing. If reform has not brought us all the positive advantages that were promised and are still hoped for, the circumscription of evil,—the clipping and paring of the talons of corruption,—must be deemed the greatest advantage of all. If the demon has not been cast out, its destructive potency has at least been arrested by the spell which has been cast upon it.—Of this great revolution, and of all the most important events which immediately led to it, Lord Brougham may say with decent pride and exultation, ‘*Pars MAGNA fui.*’

Into the question how far he was impelled by less noble motives than those inspired by patriotism in making these gigantic exertions, we feel no inclination, and we see no necessity to enter. There is no reason to doubt that he was honestly animated by a desire to benefit and bless his country; while of other and inferior motives, we apprehend there was no larger alloy than enters into the conduct of *other* statesmen; which, by the bye, many readers may consider no very flattering compliment. That he has had his ambition, egotism, vanity, may be all true enough; still the main facts of the case remain as they were; and his claims upon the gratitude and reverence of all who love freedom, hate oppression, and desire improvement, are strong and unimpeachable.

As to the tone and spirit which he has lately sometimes manifested, we certainly do not feel ourselves called upon to express a like approval. And if there were the slightest chance of our

humble pages meeting his Lordship's eye, we should assuredly take the opportunity of expressing our deep regret that his resentment, his want of dignity and self-control, his haste and irritability of temper, his apparent impatience of loss of power, should hurry him to do any thing that may dim his fair fame, and render the hour of his setting less brilliant and fair than it undoubtedly may be. A little more magnanimity would have placed him in a truly lofty and enviable position—nor is it even now impossible that he may attain it.

We believe that we are by no means the only persons who regret that Lord Brougham should ever have become a Lord and a Lord Chancellor,—or a man in office at all. For his coronet and seals, he bartered power far greater and more substantial than any which coronet or seals could bring him,—even had he been better fitted by nature and habit to make the most of his losing bargain. He himself seems to be of the same opinion. At least it is hard to conceive that the following sentence, in his speech on the change of ministry in 1834, was not edged by bitter reflections on an event less remote in history than that to which it refers. 'Lord Chatham,' says he, 'took an earldom and left the House of Commons, *which no one ever did voluntarily*, without bitterly rueing the step, when he found the price paid to be the 'loss of all real power.'

We have said that the acceptance of a coronet and office would still have been a sacrifice, even if nature and habit had better fitted him for the change. But both nature and habit had just exactly fitted him for the post he relinquished. As to the very audience, before which he was to exercise his incomparable oratory, half its power was lost in the Lords. His scanty audience—*not* 'fit though few,'—was formed for the most part of the most intractable, ceremonious, and unsympathizing hearers. We know that this alone is half sufficient to damp the most fervid eloquence. If Lord Brougham—the most accomplished speaker of his day—has failed in any point as an orator, it has been in not knowing how to adapt himself to the spirit and tone of his lordly auditory: 'to hit the house,' as Burke said, with his usual felicity, of Charles Townshend, 'exactly between wind and water.' But with such qualities, as his lordship's eloquence possesses, it would have been a Herculean task indeed to fulfil this condition. He frequently provoked them by his energy and impetuosity—his rough 'Saxon;' while his occasional attempts at conciliation and compliment—his strange praises of hereditary wisdom—were equally infelicitous. Cerberus regarded neither the sop nor the blows, but continued to regard the unwelcome visitant with a grim and unrelaxing visage. The only occasions on which his oratory has been truly acceptable to the House, have been when attacking his former friends, or employing his rare powers of irony and sarcasm in making, like

Sampson, sport for the lords of the Philistines. On such occasions, he reminds us of Milton's description of the elephant gambolling before our first parents in Paradise :

‘—— The unwieldly elephant,
To make them mirth, used all his might, and wreathed
His lithe proboscis.’

As the House of Peers was about as fit an element for Lord Brougham to live in, as the air would be to a fish, or the water to a bird, so the duties of *office* were about as fit functions for him, as flying would be to the former, or swimming to the latter. Office, if he knew his own strength, he would never covet; nor regret the loss of it. With (we verily believe) quite as much honesty and patriotism as the generality of statesmen, he wants other qualities of which no successful statesman was ever destitute. The very powers which mark him out as the great popular champion—the first to enter the breach, and lead the onset against political corruption, unfit him for the duties of a cool, self-possessed, calculating man in office. His impetuosity, his eagerness, his irritability, his impatience of silence, his disposition to speak out all he thinks, and just when he thinks it, his apparent inability to let things pass, to watch his advantage and bide his time,—all these render him a questionable ally of any ministry. The very frequency with which he speaks,—at all times, on all subjects,—must tend to impair his weight and to cheapen what he says, as was the case with Burke, and as has been the case with many great political speakers. In a word, we question whether there ever was a man of such great accomplishments, of such transcendent talents, distinguished by less prudence or self-control; he can perform wonders with his tongue, but it would be a still greater miracle than any his eloquence has achieved, if he could govern it. He knows but too well how to speak, if he would but learn when to be silent.

For ourselves, therefore, it is no matter of regret that he is out of office, nor have we any wish to see him reinstated in it. All we are anxious for is, that he should use aright those talents with which it has pleased God to endow him almost beyond any man of his age, in a manner that shall benefit his country and do honour to himself; not in party-squabbling, not in the everlasting interchange of sarcasms and recriminations with his former friends, not in petty attacks and petty defence on this or that point connected with the history of the late and present administration. No, we wish to see the vast energies of his mind exclusively engaged in the discussion of great principles, or the preparation of great measures, without reference to the support or hostility of parties; giving government a hearty and honest support where he can, but

not eager to multiply and exasperate the points of difference between himself and them. In a word, we do *not* wish to see him engaged as he too often was during the last session.

We are well known to be no thorough-going advocates of the present administration, and we have never ceased to exclaim loudly against many of their acts. But we cannot think they have met with candid treatment at Lord Brougham's hands. He may reply that neither has he met with such treatment from them. We do not at all feel called upon to maintain the contrary; nor is it necessary that we should do so for our present argument. It is against the undignified and pernicious strife itself, that his lordship should be on his guard. He has entered in his fourth volume, (in the Preface to his speech on what he calls the 'Maltreatment of the North American colonies,') into a defence of the sentiments and opinions to which he has given expression during this session. He tells us that he has always held these opinions and sentiments, and that he is but consistent in giving expression to them. 'It is respectfully asked,' he says, 'why Lord Brougham alone should be complained of, for continuing, since Nov. 1837, to abide by the very same principles which he had not taken up for the first time in Nov. 1830, but held in all former times.' Now to this representation we might demur; but we do not rest our reply at all upon this. We might say that, though such defence may be as to certain points conclusive, we fail to perceive such an entire consistency between Lord Brougham's opinions and declarations in office and out of it; still less between his tone and manner in the two cases. We cannot believe that four years ago he would have approved of those 'essential alterations' in the Reform Bill, for which he now pleads; that he would now maintain what he once did, that the minority in Ireland had a right to their ecclesiastical establishments in defiance of the majority; we do believe that he has thoroughly renounced the scheme of slave apprenticeship, which he once maintained. Do we blame Lord Brougham for having reconsidered, perhaps revised, certainly altered some of his opinions? By no means. We merely adduce these facts to show that he has sometimes been the advocate of views which he has not 'held in *all* former times;' and that a little moderation and forbearance might therefore be expected from him in urging those views in opposition to his former colleagues, who unhappily may still remain 'in the starkness of their ignorance.'

But as we have already said, we do not rest our reply to Lord Brougham's defence of himself, on the inconsistency of his opinions. That inconsistency is, perhaps, no greater than may always be expected between human nature *in* office and human nature *out* of office. But can Lord Brougham be ignorant, that the

main objection which many of his friends and admirers have taken to some portions of his recent conduct lies for the most part less against the substance of what he has said on great occasions, than against the manner in which his opposition has been displayed, and the spirit by which he has appeared to be actuated? It is the *animus* of his opposition, more than the opposition itself, which convicts and condemns him. It is the impetuosity and frequency of his assaults; the vigilant eagerness with which he watches to detect any vulnerable point, and the mortal animosity with which he drives his keenest weapons there; the apparent disposition to find his old friends and colleagues in the wrong; the tone of bitterness and contempt with which he speaks of them—the readiness which he has displayed to make their alleged weakness and imbecility the topics of grateful invective, at times and seasons, which rendered the introduction of such matter not particularly relevant—as for example, in the wonderfully eloquent speeches delivered last spring before the great Anti-slavery Meetings at Exeter Hall; it is these things which make his enemies say—‘there spoke ‘soured ambition—there is the resentment of a man of great mind ‘and a little soul—of great genius and no magnanimity.’ If the noble lord knew the feelings with which such exhibitions are witnessed by his friends—and we profess ourselves amongst the number who sincerely admire his genius, and wish to see it worthily employed,—we verily believe he would abstain from them. If not; if he persevere in the same course, he must commit suicide on his splendid reputation. The reputation of great abilities, of a mind of vast compass and power he cannot divest himself of; but the dearer and more imperishable reputation founded on moral respect, he will assuredly impair.

It is still possible to regain his true position. If he cannot command an audience so much to his taste, so disposed to sympathise with his views, and so likely to be wrought upon by his eloquence as the House of Commons, he can, at all events, speak in the House of Lords; as some one said, when he heard his lordship addressing to some listless dozen of his frigid auditory, ‘he can speak *through* them *to* the nation. He may use their lordship’s house as a *sounding-board* to convey his opinions over the empire. And what a proud and dignified position might he there occupy! concentrating the energies of his mind upon great matters; rising only on occasions worthy of his eloquence—not wasting his powers, nor cheapening his character by impatiently thrusting in a word on every trumpery discussion about matters of form, little party disputes, and insignificant petitions.

If ever there was a man in our country who was qualified by nature or by habit for exercising a powerful influence over the popular mind by his eloquence, it is Lord Brougham. We have

not the slightest doubt, that whatever other greatness he may be celebrated for by posterity, he will be chiefly remembered as the greatest orator of his day; perhaps, with the exception of Charles James Fox, the greatest orator this country has ever produced. Certainly, with that single exception, we know of no man who combines so many of the qualities of the highest and truest kind of eloquence as Lord Brougham; none, who approximates so nearly to that greatest of all orators, whose eloquence Lord Brougham has so deeply pondered, which he has so successfully illustrated, and with the spirit of which he is so thoroughly imbued—Demosthenes. It is evident, that he has made that prince of orators, the subject of his intense study, and that sort of unconscious and never servile imitation, which is the result of a keen perception and profound admiration of the excellences of the models we propose to ourselves. Nor is there any man, so far as we know, whose example may more clearly show, in spite of the superficial notions of some despisers of rhetoric, the advantage which must accrue from having early imbued the mind with just notions of what the highest kind of eloquence is, and must be: such a systematic knowledge of its nature, constantly, though imperceptibly, influences and guides the mind in its efforts to attain it.

But whatever study and practice may have done for this great orator, there can be no question, that the original structure of his mind is by no means dissimilar to that of him who ‘fulminated over Greece.’ Possessed of an intellect, at once capacious and acute; of an imagination quite strong enough to serve the purposes of concise and energetic illustration, but not so strong as to suffocate and enfeeble his eloquence with excessive ornament, or to induce him to forget, as has been the fate of so many orators, the limits between eloquence and poetry; possessed of the most tremendous command of sarcasm and invective; distinguished by the utmost intensity and impetuosity of passion; and uniting with all this the most imperial command over our vernacular English,—an instrument he seems to use absolutely at will; his eloquence often exhibits that involved stream or rapid succession and intermixture of argument, illustration, and impassioned feeling, which constitutes the eloquence of Demosthenes. Even the very structure of his sentences (making all allowance for the immeasurable superiority which results from the superior genius of the Greek language), often reminds one of his great model. The long and involved periods in which he indulges beyond any other orator of the day, and which are yet perfectly clear and perspicuous, despite their length and intricacy,—periods in which the meaning seems continually to grow, and unroll without any prospect of termination,—are often most powerful; and leave one almost at a loss to imagine how a language which from its want of

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inflexions, is so little adapted to this species of style, could be made to such an extent pliant and tractable. In the extraordinary compression and energy too of expression, in the very sparing use of ornament, in that simplicity of diction, which those of vitiated taste would call nakedness, he bears a strong resemblance to the Greek models. But though each single expression of a sentiment is often brief and startlingly energetic, it must be confessed, that there are sometimes superfluous repetitions of them. He has not, in this respect so successfully copied the moderation of his great master, though no one was ever more sensible of this excellence than his lordship; we mean, that of 'never over doing,' as Lord Brougham himself calls it,—the being satisfied with a single phrase or word when it fully and forcibly conveys all that the orator means. Lord Brougham well describes this in his celebrated 'Inaugural Discourse.' He says, 'in nothing, not even in beauty of collocation and harmony of rhythm, is the vast superiority of the 'chaste, vigorous, manly style of the Greek orators and writers 'more conspicuous than in the abstinent use of their prodigious 'faculties of expression. A single phrase, sometimes a word, and 'the work is done; the desired impression is made, as it were, 'with one stroke, there being nothing superfluous interposed to 'weaken the blow, or break its fall.' Now, it must be admitted, that his lordship does sometimes 'over-do;' his expression is too varied and ample—whether the result of his speaking so much, and often necessarily with so little preparation, we cannot say. Still, we must confess, that we think it is more frequently the fault of his later than his earlier efforts.

Having spoken in such high terms of Lord Brougham as an orator, and even ventured to do—what we are sure he would not do for himself—to mention him, as in his best moods, not unworthy of being associated with Demosthenes, we must justify the audacious praise by one or two short extracts, which are, in our opinion, as truly eloquent as any thing to be met with in the whole range of English oratory.

Perhaps, it is in his lordship's speeches, on the 'Slave-trade' and 'Slavery,' that he has displayed the greatest power and splendour of eloquence. Nor is this to be wondered at. The very nature of the topics themselves was fully calculated to inspire that intensity of passion which is requisite to stimulate the full energies of his intellect. It is to these speeches, then, that we shall confine ourselves. We know of no invective more tremendous than that which closes his speech on negro-slavery, delivered in the House Commons, in 1830.

'Sir, I have done; I trust that, at length, the time, is come, when parliament will no longer bear to be told, that slave-owners are the

best law-givers on slavery ; no longer allow an appeal from the British public, to such communities as those in which the Smiths and Grimsdalls are persecuted to death, for teaching the gospel to the negroes ; and the Mosses holden in affectionate respect for torture and murder : no longer suffer our voice to roll across the Atlantic in empty warnings, and fruitless orders. Tell me not of rights ! talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves ! I deny the right ! I acknowledge not the property ! The principles, the feelings of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim ! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes ; the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge ; to another, all unutterable woes ;—such it is at this day : it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man ; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they will reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man ! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations : the covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly ; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Blenheim for the traffic in blood. Yet, in despite of law and of treaty, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass ? Not, assuredly, by parliament leading the way ; but the country at length awoke ; the indignation of the people was kindled ; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. Now, then, let the planters beware—let their assemblies beware—let the government at home beware—let the parliament beware ! The same country is once more awake—awake to the condition of negro slavery ; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people ; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the slave trade : and, if it shall descend again, they, on whom its crash may fall, will not be destroyed before I have warned them : but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgments of God !

Not unworthy of being compared with this very powerful passage, is the close of his speech on the slave trade in 1810.

‘ It is now three years since that abominable traffic has ceased to be sanctioned by the law of the land ; and, I thank God, I may therefore now indulge in expressing feelings towards it, which delicacy rather to the law than the traffic, might before that period, have rendered it proper to suppress. After a long and most unaccountable silence of the law on this head, which seemed to protect, by permitting, or at least by not prohibiting the traffic, it has now spoken out, and the veil which it has appeared to interpose being now withdrawn, it is fit to let our indignation fall on those who still dare to trade in

human flesh,—not merely for the frauds of common smugglers, but for engaging in crimes of the deepest dye ; in crimes always most iniquitous, even when not illegal ; but which now are as contrary to law as they have ever been to honesty and justice. I must protest loudly against the abuse of language, which allows such men to call themselves traders or merchants. It is not commerce, but crime, that they are driving. I too well know, and too highly respect, that most honourable and useful pursuit, that commerce whose province it is to humanize and pacify the world—so alien in its nature to violence and fraud—so formed to flourish in peace and in honesty—so inseparably connected with freedom, and good will, and fair dealing,—I deem too highly of it to endure that its name should, by a strange perversion, be prostituted to the use of men who live by treachery, rapine, torture, and murder, and are habitually practising the worst of crimes for the basest of purposes. When I say murder, I speak literally and advisedly. I mean to use no figurative phrase, and I know I am guilty of no exaggeration. I am speaking of the worst form of that crime. For ordinary murders there may even be some excuse. Revenge may have arisen from the excess of feelings honourable in themselves. A murder of hatred, or cruelty, or mere blood-thirstiness, can only be imputed to a deprivation of reason. But here we have to do with cool, deliberate, mercenary murder ; nay, worse than this ; for the ruffians who go on the highway, or the pirates who infest the seas, at least expose their persons, and by their courage, throw a kind of false glare over their crimes. But these wretches dare not do this. They employ others as base as themselves, only that they are less cowardly ; they set on men to rob and kill, in whose spoils they are ready to share, though not in their dangers. Traders, or merchants, do they presume to call themselves ? and in cities like London and Liverpool, the very creations of honest trades ? I will give them the right name, at length, and call them cowardly suborners of piracy and mercenary murder ! Seeing this determination, on the part of these infamous persons, to elude the Abolition Act, it is natural for me to ask, before I conclude, whether any means can be devised for its more effectual execution. I would suggest the propriety of obtaining from the Portuguese government, either in perpetuity, or for a term of years, the island of Bissao, situated on the African coast, and the only foreign settlement in that quarter where our commerce chiefly lies. This cession would leave us a coast of 500 miles extent, wholly uninterrupted, and greatly facilitating the destruction of the slave traffic in that part of Africa. I would next remark that the number of cruisers employed on the African coast is too scanty. It is thither, and not to America, that vessels intended to detect slave traders should be sent ; because a slave ship must remain for some weeks on the coast to get in her cargo, whereas she could run into her port of destination in the West Indies in a night, and thus escape detection ; yet, to watch a coast so extensive as the African, we had never above two, and now have only one cruiser. I would recommend, that the ships thus employed should be of a light construction and small draught of water, that they may cross the bars of the harbours, in order to follow the

slave-ships into the shallows and creeks, and up the mouths of rivers, and also that they should be well manned and provided with boats, for the same purpose. It would be impossible to employ six or seven light ships better than on such a service. It is even more economical to employ a sufficient number; the occasion for them would, by this means, speedily cease! Once root out the trade, and there is little fear of its again springing up. The industry and capital required by it will find out other vents. The labour and ingenuity of the persons engaged in it will seek the different channels which will continue open. Some of them will naturally go on the highway, while others will betake themselves to piracy, and the law might, in due time, dispose of them.

‘But I should not do justice either to my own sentiments or to the great cause which I am maintaining, were I to stop here. All the measures I have mentioned are mere expedients—mere make-shifts and palliatives, compared with the real and effectual remedy for this grand evil, which I have no hesitation in saying it is now full time to apply. I should, indeed have been inclined to call the idea of stopping such a traffic by pecuniary penalties, an absurdity and inconsistency, had it not been adopted by parliament, and were I not also persuaded that in such cases it is necessary to go on by steps, and often to do what we can, rather than attempt what we wish. . . . While you levy your pence, the wholesale dealers in blood and torture pocket their pounds, and laugh at your two-penny penalty.’

But it is now high time that we should give some account of the contents of these portly and well-filled volumes. A large portion of them has appeared before, though never in so authentic a form. The principal feature of the work, however, consists in the ‘Introductions,’ by which most of the speeches are prefaced, and which cannot occupy much less than one volume out of the four. These ‘Introductions’ contain a brief history of the questions to which the speeches relate—the circumstances under which the said speeches were delivered—and, above all, biographical sketches of the parties who took a principal share in the questions they discuss. Thus, in these volumes, (embracing as they do speeches on almost all subjects of vital interest to the country,) we have portraits, and from a first-rate artist, of a large number of Lord Brougham’s political contemporaries. They are many of them distinguished by great discrimination and strength of colouring. We shall select two or three of them, after we have briefly enumerated the contents of the four volumes.

The first volume contains a speech on Military Flogging; the celebrated defence of Queen Caroline; the argument for the Queen’s Coronation; the speech against the Rev. Richard Blacow, for libelling the Queen; on certain alleged libels against the Durham clergy; a dissertation on the Law of Libel; parliamentary speeches on Commerce and Manufactures; Agricultural

and Manufacturing Districts; the Army Estimates, and the Holy Alliance.

The second volume contains numerous speeches on Slavery, Law Reform, and Parliamentary Reform.

The third volume contains various speeches and addresses, in and out of Parliament, on the subject of Education, together with the letter to Sir Samuel Romilly on the Abuse of Charities, and the celebrated inaugural discourse at Glasgow University; upon Scotch Parliamentary and Burgh Reform, and on English Municipal Reform; a discourse on the Law of Marriage, Divorce, and Legitimacy; speech on the Scotch Marriage and Divorce Bill; speeches on the Poor Laws; and an address on the Establishment of the Liverpool Mechanics' Institute.

The fourth volume contains speeches on the Affairs of Ireland; at the Grey Festival; on the Change of Ministry in 1834; on the Business of Parliament; on the 'Maltreatment' of the North American Colonies: on the Civil List, and on Privilege of Parliament. The volume concludes with a dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients; to which is subjoined an Appendix, containing illustrations and translations.

We shall now give our readers a specimen or two from the Historical Introductions, the whole of which they will find exceedingly racy and entertaining, abounding with ingenious and often profound reflections, and interesting anecdote. The first portrait shall be that of Lord Castlereagh.

' Few men of more limited capacity, or more meagre acquirements than Lord Castlereagh possessed, had before his time ever risen to any station of eminence in our free country; fewer still have long retained it in a state, where mere court intrigue and princely favour have so little to do with men's advancement. But we have lived to see persons of more obscure merit than Lord Castlereagh rise to equal station in this country. Of sober and industrious habits, and become possessed of business-like talents by long experience, he was a person of the most common-place abilities. He had a reasonable quickness of apprehension and clearness of understanding, but nothing brilliant or in any way admirable marked either his conceptions or his elocution. Nay, to judge of his intellect by his eloquence, we should certainly have formed a very unfair estimate of its perspicacity. For, though it was hardly possible to underrate its extent or comprehensiveness, it was very far from being confused and perplexed in the proportion of his sentences; and the listener who knew how distinctly the speaker could form his plans, and how clearly his ideas were known to himself, might, comparing small things with great, be reminded of the prodigious contrast between the distinctness of Oliver Cromwell's understanding, and the hopeless confusion and obscurity of his speech. No man, besides, ever attained the station of a regular debater in our parliament

with such an entire want of all classical accomplishment, or indeed of all literary provision whatsoever. While he never showed the least symptoms of an information extending beyond the more recent volumes of the parliamentary debates, or possibly the files of the newspapers only, his diction set all imitation, perhaps all description, at defiance. It was with some amusement to beguile the tedious hours of their unavoidable attendance upon the poor, tawdry, ravelled thread of his sorry discourse, to collect a kind of *ana* from the fragments of mixed, incongruous, and disjointed images that frequently appeared in it. 'The features of the clause'—'the ignorant impatience of the relaxation of taxation'—'sets of circumstances coming up and circumstances going down'—'men turning their backs upon themselves'—'the honorable and learned gentlemen's wedge getting into the loyal feelings of the manufacturing classes'—'the constitutional principle wound up in the bowels of the monarchical principle'—'the Herculean labour of the honorable and learned member, who will find himself quite disappointed when he has at last brought forth his Hercules'—(by a slight confounding of the mother's labour who produced that hero, with his own exploits which gained him immortality)—these are but a few, and not the richest samples, by any means, of a rhetoric which often baffled alike the gravity of the Treasury Bench and the art of the reporter, and left the wondering audience at a loss to conjecture how any one could ever exist, endowed with humbler pretensions to the name of orator. Wherefore, when the Tory party, 'having a devil,' preferred him to Mr. Canning for their leader, all men naturally expected that he would entirely fail to command even the attendance of the House while he addressed it; and that the benches, empty during his time, would only be replenished when his highly gifted competitor rose. They were greatly deceived; they underrated the effect of place and power; they forgot that the representative of a government speaks 'as one having authority, and not as the Scribes.' But they also forgot that Lord Castlereagh had some qualities well fitted to conciliate favour, and even to provoke admiration, in the absence of every thing like eloquence. He was a bold and fearless man; the very courage with which he exposed himself unabashed to the most critical audience in the world, while incapable of uttering two sentences of any thing but the meanest matter, in the most wretched language; the gallantry with which he faced the greatest difficulties of a question; the unflinching perseverance with which he went through a whole subject, leaving untouched not one of the adverse arguments, however forcibly and felicitously they had been urged, neither daunted by recollecting the impression just made by his antagonist's brilliant display, nor damped by consciousness of the very rags in which he now presented himself—all this made him upon the whole rather a favorite with the audience whose patience he was taxing mercilessly, and whose gravity he ever and anon put to a very severe trial. Nor can any one have forgotten the kind of pride that mantled on the fronts of the Tory phalanx, when, after being overwhelmed with the powerful fire of the Whig opposition, or galled by the fierce denunciations of the mountain, or harassed by the splendid displays of Mr. Canning, their chosen

leader stood forth, and presenting the graces of his eminently patrician figure, flung open his coat, displayed an azure ribbon traversing a snow-white chest, and declared 'his high satisfaction that he could now meet the charges against him face to face, and repel with indignation ail that his adversaries had been bold and rash enough to advance.'

We must not withhold from our readers the following noble tribute to the eloquence of Wilberforce :

'His eloquence was of the highest order. It was persuasive and pathetic in an eminent degree ; but it was occasionally bold and impassioned, animated with the inspiration which deep feeling alone can breathe into spoken thought, chastened by a pure taste, varied by extensive information, enriched by classical allusion, sometimes elevated by the more sublime topics of holy writ—the thoughts

'That wrapt Isaiah's hallowed soul in fire.'

Few passages can be cited in the oratory of modern times of a more electrical effect than the singularly felicitous and striking allusion to Mr. Pitt's resisting the torrent of Jacobin principles : 'He stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was staid.' The singular kindness, the extreme gentleness of his disposition, wholly free from gall, from vanity, or any selfish feeling, kept him from indulging in any of the vituperative branches of rhetoric ; but a memorable instance showed that it was any thing rather than the want of force which held him off from the use of the weapons so often in almost all other men's hands. When a well known popular member thought fit to designate him repeatedly, and very irregularly, as the 'honorable and religious gentleman,' not because he was ashamed of the cross he gloried in, but because he felt indignant at any one in the British senate deeming piety a matter of imputation, he poured out a tone of sarcasm which none who heard it can ever forget. A common friend of the parties having remarked to Sir Samuel Romilly, beside whom he sat, that this greatly outmatched Pitt himself, the great master of sarcasm, the reply of that great man, and just observer, was worthy to be remarked : 'Yes,' said he, 'it is the most striking thing I almost ever heard ; but I look upon it as a more singular proof of Wilberforce's virtue than of his genius, for who but he ever was possessed of such a formidable weapon, and never used it ?' Against all these accomplishments of a finished orator there was little to set on the other side. A feeble constitution, which made him say, all his life, that he never was either well or ill ; a voice sweetly musical beyond that of most men, and of great compass also, but sometimes degenerating into a whine ; a figure exceedingly undignified and ungraceful, though the features of the face were singularly expressive ; and a want of condensation, in the latter years of his life especially lapsing into digression, and ill calculated for a very business-like audience, like the House of Commons ; may be noted as the only drawbacks which kept him out of the very first place among the first speakers of his age, whom, in pathos, and also in graceful and

easy, and perfectly elegant diction, as well as harmonious periods, he unquestionably excelled. The influence which the member for Yorkshire always commanded in the old parliament—the great weight which the head, indeed, the founder of a powerful religious sect, possessed in the country—would have given extraordinary authority in the senate to one of far inferior personal endowments. But when these partly accidental circumstances were added to his powers, and when the whole were used and applied with the habits of industry which naturally belonged to one of his extreme temperance in every respect, it is difficult to imagine any one bringing a greater force to any cause which he might espouse.

We must conclude these extracts with the following sketch of Sir James Mackintosh. We should have much liked to give the full-length portrait of Jeremy Bentham, (in many respects the most finished of the whole gallery,) but it is too long to be inserted entire.

‘To the great subject of the criminal law, Sir James Mackintosh brought a mind well versed in the general principles of legal science; an acquaintance with ethical philosophy, indeed with every department of philosophy, perhaps unequalled among his contemporaries; and the singular advantage of having devoted the best years of his life to the administration of justice. His mind was, besides, stored with various knowledge, as well practical as scientific, and, although he had never cultivated the exacter sciences since his early years, yet his original profession of a physician made the doctrines of natural philosophy familiar to him; and if it has been said, and justly said, that no man can be thoroughly acquainted with any one branch of knowledge without having some skill in the others also, to no department of study is this remark so applicable as to that of jurisprudence, which pushes its roots into all the grounds of human science, and spreads its branches over every object that concerns mankind. He was the better prepared for successfully accomplishing the task which he undertook, by the singular absence of all personal virulence, and even factious vehemence, which had uniformly marked his course both in public and private life: it reconciled to him those from whom he most widely differed in his opinions, and tended greatly to disarm the opposition with which his efforts as a reformer were sure to meet, especially among the members of his own profession. This quality, together with his long experience as a criminal judge, more than compensated for his inferiority in weight as a legal authority, to his illustrious predecessor, who, although he stood so far at the head of the bar as to have nothing like a competitor, had yet confined his practice chiefly to the courts of equity, and whose superior influence as a statesman and a debater, might suffer some diminution from the opposition his more severe demeanour was apt to raise.

‘On the opposite side of the account were to be set the weaknesses, most of them amiable or accidental in their origin, some of which en-

feebled his character, while others crippled his exertions. His constitution, never robust, had suffered materially from his residence in India. He entered parliament late in life, and although always a most able and well-informed speaker, occasionally capable of astonishing his audience by displays of the most brilliant kind, he never showed any powers as a debater, and, being more of a rhetorician than an orator, was not even calculated to produce the impression which eloquence alone makes; while, as a practical man of business, in all that related to the details of measures, or the conducting them through parliament, he was singularly helpless and inefficient. It must also be admitted that his mild deportment, his candid turn of mind, and the gentleness of his nature, while they might disarm the anger of some adversaries, were calculated to relax the zeal of many friends; and he was extremely deficient both in that political courage which inspires confidence in allies, while it bears down the resistance of enemies, and in that promptitude, the gift of natural quickness, combined with long practice, which never suffers an advantage to be lost, and turns even a disaster to account. His style of speaking, too, was rather of the *epideictic*, or exhibitory, than of the argumentative kind; and, as his habitual good nature led him not only to avoid vehement attacks, but to indulge in a somewhat lavish measure of commendation, offence was given friends more than ever enemies were won over. Even his most celebrated performances were less remarkable for reasoning than for dissertation; the greatest speech he ever made—nor was there ever one more eminently striking and successful delivered in parliament—the speech on the Foreign Enlistment Bill in 1819—although abounding in the most profound remarks, and the most enlarged views of policy and of general law, clothed in the happiest language, and enlightened by the most felicitous illustration, was exposed to the criticism of some judges of eloquence, as defective in the grand essential of argument, and of that rapid and vehement declamation which fixes the hearers' attention upon the subject, making the speaker be forgotten, and leaving his art concealed.

Against the purity of this eminent person's public conduct, no charge whatever was ever fairly brought. Few men, indeed, ever made greater sacrifices to his principles while his party was excluded from power, or were less rewarded for them when that party was admitted to office. He had early joined with those whose sanguine hopes led them to favour the French revolution, and kept them blind for a season to the enormities of its authors. His '*Vindiciæ Gallicæ*,' a work of consummate ability, was the offering which he then made on the altar of the divinity whom he worshipped. With most good men, he afterwards agreed in repudiating indignantly, and as if ashamed of his former friendship, all alliance with the Jacobin party; nor although he went perhaps somewhat farther in his recantation than others who never had bowed at the same shrine, could he be said ever to have swerved from those liberal principles which were the passion of his early and the guide of his riper years. Upon his return from India, he at once refused the most flattering offers of place from Lord Liverpool's government, and he persevered with the whig party, in a long

and apparently hopeless opposition to the end of the war, and through fifteen years of the ensuing peace. At length, the party for which he had sacrificed so much succeeded to power, and he, though, among the very first of its most distinguished members, was almost entirely passed over, while men of little fame, others of hardly any merit at all, and not a few of Tory principles till the moment of the government being formed, were lifted over his head, and planted in the cabinet of the Whigs. In that cabinet, indeed, there must have been some who could not, with a steady countenance, look down upon him thus excluded, while they were admitted to unexpected power. His treatment, accordingly, has formed one of the greatest charges against the whole arrangements then made; but justice requires that Lord Grey should be acquitted of all blame in this respect; for he had never been in any habits either of personal or of party intercourse with Sir James, and might be supposed to share in the coldness towards him which some of the older Foxites unjustly and unaccountably felt. But even those members of the government, who lived with him in constant habits of friendship, have much more to urge in explanation of this dark passage in the history of the party than is commonly imagined; for the objectors do not sufficiently consider, that, while Sir James Mackintosh's health, and aversion to the habits of business required by certain offices, excluded him from these, others are, by invariable practice, given to high rank. The occasion of his being here mentioned, is the invaluable service which he rendered to the cause of 'Law Reform;' a service that must endear his memory to all enlightened statesmen and all good men, independent of the other assistance for which the rapid progress of liberal principles has to thank him; a progress so beneficial to mankind, so profitable to the Whig party at large, so advantageous to a select few of the Tories, now mingled with that Whig party, but so utterly barren of all benefit whatever to Sir James Mackintosh himself.

Affixed to the fourth volume, is a 'Dissertation on Ancient Eloquence,' which no one, but, especially, no speaker, can read without profit and delight. It is, in a great measure, an expansion of certain thoughts to be found in his lordship's inaugural address delivered at his installation, as Lord Rector of Glasgow University. There is, however, one portion of it on which we are tempted to make a remark or two; not because we suppose that the noble author means any thing to which we could not heartily subscribe, but, because, unless guarded from misconstruction, it might lead young speakers into error; inducing them to imagine that the high polish and finish which the ancients gave to their oratorical compositions, and the attention they paid to matters of style, would be worse than useless before a modern audience. He says,— 'that the orators of Greece and Rome regarded their art as 'one of eminent display, considered it their province to please 'as well as to move their audience, and addressed the assembly, 'not only as hearers who were to be convinced or persuaded, but as

‘critics, also, who were to judge of rhetorical merit, is clear from ‘numberless considerations, some of which must here be adverted ‘to, in order to show that Oratory held a place amongst the ‘Fine Arts properly so called, and was, like them, an appeal to the ‘taste, ending in the mere pleasure of contemplation, as well as an ‘appeal to the reason or the passions, leading to practical consequences, and having action for its result.’ In another place, he speaks of the orator’s eloquence being regarded as a ‘dramatic ‘display, or, at least, as an exhibition in which the audience ‘was to be pleased, *independently of the business intended to be ‘promoted.*’ ‘Again,’ he says, ‘we must suppose, that the orator ‘had a two-fold object, and that the audience was gathered for ‘another purpose as well as that of being convinced—that they ‘were come to enjoy a critical repast,’ &c. This view he enforces by many considerations, and, amongst others, by the high finish and elaboration which distinguish the oratorical compositions of the ancients.

Now, we think, that an important distinction is to be made here. That many of the ancient orators did seek to please and gratify their audiences, as many modern orators have done, ‘*independently of the business intended to be promoted,*’ we fully admit. But we do not think that those who did this were looked up to as the models of the truest eloquence, and that they failed in exact proportion as they did it. On the other hand, we think it must be equally admitted, that the very greatest of ancient orators always sought, as every modern orator ought, to please his audience, but only so far as it was strictly subordinated to his practical end, never ‘*independently of the business intended to be promoted.*’ This was the case with Demosthenes. To attempt the former is, indeed, to make oratory a dramatic display—to do the latter is the duty of every orator, but it is no ‘dramatic display,’ nor in strict propriety of speech can it, we think, be said, that the orator in so doing has a ‘*twofold object.*’ We will attempt to explain our meaning more fully.

That the ancients did pay much more attention to the style of their oratorical compositions than the moderns, there can be no doubt; and it may well become a question, whether modern orators have paid enough, when we consider that by the very constitution of human nature, truth itself is likely to be more readily received, and make a more adequate impression, in proportion as it is clearly, forcibly, and harmoniously expressed. When so expressed, there is, no doubt, a high pleasure derived from the very act of listening to the orator, but it is hardly correct to say, that he has a ‘two-fold object’ in view, if he strictly confines himself within these limits; seeing that his object is still only to render his thoughts more convincing and more persuasive, by rendering the expression of them more energetic

or more grateful; in other words, his affecting his audience *pleasurably* is itself only involved—necessarily involved—as a condition; the gratification he seeks to impart being strictly and solely that of *the adaptation of the means to the end*. Now the ancients—at least, those whom the ancients themselves thought the highest examples of eloquence, and whom, we are sure, Lord Brougham considers so—never went beyond this in seeking to gratify their audiences; if they had done so, in that very proportion, they would have been supposed to fail of the real object and the highest merit of an orator. If they had acted thus—if they had sacrificed force to beauty of expression—or sought beauty when they ought not, or beyond the measure in which they might and ought—if they had indulged in long and elaborate similes, merely, because they were novel and striking, and calculated to tickle the fancy—if they had introduced irrelevant matter, merely because it was pleasant, (however beautiful the thoughts, however exquisite the expression,) they would have infallibly as much disgusted their audience as any modern orator who should venture on a like experiment. Accordingly, Demosthenes never does this—and yet he imparted higher gratification to the critical taste of his audience than any other speaker, and was by them justly reckoned proudly eminent over every other. But it was the gratification resulting solely from a perception of the exquisite adaptation of the instrument to the object. Now as long as the gratification proposed and imparted is strictly confined within such limits, it cannot, in our opinion, be properly maintained that the orator had a ‘twofold object;’ and such an expression, if not guarded and explained, is apt to convey a degrading and erroneous conception. It is only by supposing him to do what many great orators have undoubtedly but mistakingly done; it is only by supposing him endeavouring to impart a pleasure extraneous to the direct and immediate object of his eloquence, that this representation can be justified. If it were said of some machine that it was constructed equally to serve the purposes of utility and pleasure, and yet it was found upon examination, that every thing that conduced to pleasure, was itself only involved as a condition of utility; that the former was never sought, except so far as subsidiary to the latter; that the latter was never sacrificed in any measure to the former, we do not think it would be any longer just to say, that it was constructed for a ‘two-fold’ *object*—but for one, and that the pleasure derived from it was merely the result of exact and exquisite adjustment to the object. In a word, the pleasure is not sought for or thought about for the pleasure’s sake, but for another and a higher purpose. There is, indeed, an exquisite pleasure, in listening to accomplished and powerful eloquence. But let us suppose for a moment, that the orator

really had a 'twofold' object; that the gratification he imparts is not simply the result of his endeavouring to give the most effective and grateful utterance to his sentiments—let us suppose him polishing or adorning beyond these precise limits, and our pleasure is destroyed. But such gratification as is involved in endeavouring to answer the end, no orator need be afraid to aim at, though by the most exact efforts, nor will any audience be afraid of yielding to it, whether ancient or modern.

We may fearlessly illustrate this view of the matter by a reference to modern orators, whom *Ld. Brougham* represents, and justly, as paying so much less attention to style than the ancients: but who, as his arguments *seem* to imply, would be sure to fail in their object and to disgust their audience, if they *did* pay as much. Let us try the matter by the test of fact and experience. Though modern oratory is much less elaborate than ancient, some of it is much more elaborate than the rest; nor can there be a question that there is not near such an interval between the eloquence of Demosthenes and that of Lord Brougham, as there is between that of Lord Brougham and many a sensible but boggling speaker of the Commons' House of Parliament. The *gratification* of listening to Lord Brougham is proportionate. Now, if he and one of the said bogglers were announced as about to speak on some great and exciting topic, after due preparation and the requisite flourish of trumpets, there cannot be a question, that the crowds who would flock to hear the one would be far greater than those to hear the other; that these multitudes, would go with a full expectation of enjoying a high intellectual treat: it is equally certain, that this expectation would be gratified from the much more perspicuous, energetic, harmonious, and pleasing expression which his lordship would give to the very same topics and arguments;—in a word, from the much more perfect adjustment of the instrument to the end. But could it be justly said, merely because his hearers would go to be gratified as well as to be convinced, that in preparing his speech, his lordship had a 'two-fold' object in view? Still what his lordship would attempt to do, is all that Demosthenes did.—But let his audience have reason to suspect, that he was really endeavouring to compass a 'two-fold' object, to make a 'dramatic display,' or to gratify their critical skill; or, in short, to gratify them in any way, except as such gratification was necessarily implied in his endeavouring to adapt his instrument to his purpose, and they would be disgusted; but this Lord Brougham would *not* do, nor did Demosthenes ever do it. In short, we believe, that whenever the pleasure sought to be imparted is sought only within the limits so often mentioned, a modern audience would be just as ready to yield to it and enjoy it, as an ancient one: and hence, they would prefer hearing Lord Brougham to some poor stick, though that poor stick should urge the same truths, and

insist on the same arguments ; and, we believe, on the other hand, that whenever the pleasure sought to be imparted *transgresses* these limits, an ancient audience would no more enjoy of it than a modern one : at all events, the ancients did not give such eloquence the highest rank, as is proved by the immeasurable and uncontested superiority which they awarded to Demosthenes, and the comparative obscurity of other orators. It is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that an audience, whether ancient or modern, feel disposed to enjoy, and have a right to enjoy, the most exquisite pleasure which eloquence can impart, provided it is still only the result of a skilful attempt to give adequate expression to the speaker's sentiments. If then, by saying, 'that they had a 'two-fold object in view,' Lord Brougham merely means, that the ancient orator endeavoured to render his eloquence as perspicuous, forcible, and harmonious as possible ; but that there was to be nothing extraneous introduced for *effect*, no simile for simile's sake, nothing redundant,—we quite subscribe to his notion, though we cannot approve of the expressions in which he has thought proper to convey it ; and if this really involve a 'two-fold object,' then we can only say, that whatever the differences between ancient and modern eloquence, any modern orator may as blamelessly, nay, as successfully adopt 'the same two-fold object,' as an ancient one. We are rather of Hume's opinion, (and we know his lordship will agree with us,) that 'could the eloquence of Demosthenes be copied, its success 'would be infallible over a modern assembly.' Lord Brougham has done as much as any man can well do except Demosthenes himself, to prove the truth of this assertion. In a word, the meaning of his lordship is best interpreted by himself in this very Dissertation. He there says:—

'So, too,' says he, describing the eloquence of Demosthenes, 'there is no coming back on the same ground, any more than any lingering over it. Why should he come back over a territory that he has already laid waste—where the consuming fire has left not a blade of grass ? All is done at once ; but the blow is as effectual as it is single, and leaves not anything to do. There is nothing superfluous—nothing for mere speaking's sake—no topic that can be spared by the exigency of the business in hand ; so, too, there seems none that can be added—for every thing is there and in its place. So, in the diction, there is not a word that could be added without weakening or taken away without marring, or altered without changing its nature, and impairing the character of the whole exquisite texture, the work of a consummate art that never for a moment appears, nor ever suffers the mind to wander from the subject and fix itself on the speaker. All is at each instant moving forward, regardless of every obstacle. * * *.

'No sacrifice, even the smallest, is ever made to effect—nor can the

hearer ever stop, for an instant, to contemplate, or to admire, or throw away a thought upon the great artist, till all is over, and the pause gives time to recover his breath.'

Truly, in whatever way a man, eloquent after this fashion, contemplated a 'two-fold object,' a modern might follow his example without much danger of having his eloquence regarded as a 'dramatic display.'

That there are and must be many great differences between ancient and modern oratory, arising out of the difference between the assemblies for the most part addressed, and the habits of society; that the severer critical taste of the ancients demanded a correspondent finish and chasteness of composition; that the popular character of the auditories and the general freedom of manners permitted a greater license of invective and declamation; that these, and other differences which might easily be pointed out between ancient and modern oratory, must ever exist, we readily admit; but all this does not affect the fact, that as long as human nature is constituted as it is, all those qualities of style that really conduced to the power of ancient eloquence, and made it effective, would be to the full as effective now; the same attempts to inspire pleasurable emotions by the whole structure of the composition (provided those attempts are strictly confined to the limits so often mentioned), would be still as acceptable as they were in the time of Demosthenes. All this, Lord Brougham expressly and repeatedly admits—clearly proving, that there is no substantial difference between his lordship and ourselves, but still serving, in our opinion, to show the impropriety of representing the ancient orator as 'having 'a two-fold object,' or of likening his oratorical exhibition to a 'dramatic display.' Thus his lordship says, with great beauty and truth, 'that it may be remarked generally, that a speaker who 'thinks to lower his composition in order to accommodate himself 'to the tastes and habits of the audience, when addressing the multitude will find that he commits a grievous mistake;' that 'even the 'graces of composition are not thrown away upon such auditors;' 'that clear, strong, terse, yet natural and not strained expressions; 'happy antitheses; apt comparisons; forms of speech that are 'natural without being obvious; harmonious periods, yet various, 'spirited, and never monotonous or too regularly balanced; these 'are what will be always sure to captivate every audience; and, 'yet, in these mainly consists finished, and elaborate, and felicitous diction;' that, 'although, we (the moderns) are so suspicious 'of whatever would give an appearance of theatrical display to the 'business of debate, our greatest orators, nevertheless, have excelled by a careful attention to rhythm, and some of the passages 'of modern eloquence owe their unparalleled success undeniably

‘to the adoption of the same’ peculiarities of style which were ‘the delight of the Attic Ecclesia.’

Even as to the *repetitions* in the orations of Demosthenes, on which Lord Brougham lays so much stress for proving that the ancient orator as much desired to delight as to persuade his audience—but which, he says, ‘would be fatal to the speaker’s object in our assemblies;’ we question, whether, if they were employed by a modern speaker *only within* the limits employed by Demosthenes, they would produce the slightest unfavourable effect. If never employed except on those comparatively rare occasions on which *he* employed them; if only then because (with the slight alterations which the orator’s exacter judgment had afterwards suggested), they were really the most apt expression of the sentiments he wished at the time to convey; if never lugged in for effect’s sake by the head and shoulders,—they would merely be considered tantamount to the confession, ‘I really wish to express such and such a sentiment which I have expressed before; but as I know no form of words better adapted to the purpose than that formerly employed, I will not impair its force, by expressing it otherwise.’ It would be the strict *appropriateness* of such a repetition, which would be its justification, whether with an ancient or a modern audience. Every thing depends upon this. Let it be shown, that Demosthenes introduced them merely for theatrical display, and we give up the point.

Many have heard the same sermons from celebrated preachers several times over; yet they never felt disposed to say (to use Lord Brougham’s words), ‘You are playing with the subject; you cannot be in earnest; I heard the same last year.’ Now though, we admit, the *whole* of political speeches, delivered on specific occasions, cannot from their very nature be used twice or thrice over, yet if particular passages of them,—the expression of particular sentiments,—be as strictly appropriate on one occasion as on another, we see no reason why the repetition should disgust the hearer, or call in question the sincerity of the speaker; nor do we believe it would do so any more than a repetition of a sermon by Whitfield, Robert Hall, or Dr. Chalmers. There is no reason, surely, why a speaker should give inadequate expression to a sentiment merely because, on a former occasion, he has expressed it better. But, however this particular point may be, we are persuaded, that on every other there is no substantial disagreement between his lordship and ourselves.

Upon the whole we cannot help expressing a wish, that modern speakers would pay a little more attention to those matters of style, the sedulous cultivation of which gave to ancient eloquence so much of its power. We are persuaded that many a good cause has grievously suffered from the conceited contempt of eloquence manifested by many of its advocates. Let them not tell us (the

usual cant on this subject), that it is not their wish to please and gratify their audience, but to present them with arguments, facts, &c., &c. We reply, that we should be disgusted with them if they were to attempt to please us in any other way than by endeavouring to give the most adequate, that is, the clearest, most forcible, most impressive, and graceful expression to their thoughts. Within these reasonable limits, Demosthenes, and the ancient orators whom the ancients themselves deemed the best, confined themselves when *they* attempted to please, and we only ask, that the moderns should imitate their example. Let them not suppose, that while human nature remains what it is, 'arguments' however conclusive, or 'facts' however true, will produce their full, that is, their proper effect, no matter how clumsy and tedious the form in which they are presented to us. We remember hearing one say of a man of sense, but who was tedious beyond all bearing in giving utterance to it, that 'his sense was more wearisome than 'other people's nonsense.' Of how many modern speakers might not this be said!

With these exceptions to a small part of Lord Brougham's phraseology, we recommend the splendid 'Dissertation on Ancient Eloquence,' to the careful perusal of every young speaker.

It only remains for us to say, that the work is elegantly *got up*. It *must* obtain a large circulation.

Art. V. *The Life of Gustavus Adolphus, surnamed the Great, King of Sweden.* By J. F. HOLLINGS. 12mo. London: Tegg & Son. 1838.

'THE thirty-years' War'—in that brief phrase how much is comprised! How much in common apprehension, of skilful combination and daring enterprise: of valour, deep policy, and glory! How much, in sober estimation, of all that is malignant in human passions and extreme in human suffering. Through that long and weary time, the sword and the flame, with their unfailing followers famine and disease, wasted the fields and cities of central Europe: in misery or in actual strife, generations were swept away. Count Mansfeld's system, deriving from war the means of sustaining war, was illustrated on the largest possible scale of experiment, and had it been allowed to stop at that comparatively uninjurious limit, the amount of infliction might not have exceeded the usual average; but there were other leaders, of natures yet more stern and devilish, who bettered the instruction, and construed it to include all that could tempt the ruffian

to the field or whet his appetite for blood. The most dreadful excesses were sanctioned by men of highest rank and name, devout Christians after their own fashion, quieting their consciences by strange processes of reasoning, and still stranger pretexts of duty. The soldier was invited to the battle by the anticipated plunder of the camp; and urged on to the escalade by the promise that all within the rampart should be his without a single reserve in favour of honour or humanity. 'Come in an hour, the soldier must have his reward,' was the unmoved reply of Tilly to his own officers who pleaded for mercy at that terrible 'Sack of Magdeburg,' which has become a proverb and bye-word among men.

There is, however, a brighter aspect under which we may contemplate this dark and dismal scene. That season of calamity was a crisis in the fate of Europe, in which though liberty and sound Christian faith were perilously assailed, yet were they perseveringly and successfully asserted. That fearful struggle was the agony of the Reformation: Ferdinand and his Jesuits did violence to all generous feeling and all sound policy, with the clear intention of exterminating Protestantism, and of bringing the free cities and independent sovereignties of Germany under imperial domination. These schemes were defeated by a higher Will, and by a Wisdom which laughs to scorn the petty policies of men, and there cannot be taken up a nobler study than that which may enable us, partially at least to ascertain the providential interferences by which the devices of the subtle were baffled, and the counsels of the malignant made foolishness.

We are not, however, required by our immediate subject, to enter on the complicated details of that momentous and protracted struggle; nor are we, in fact, possessed of adequate materials for such an inquiry. The history of the 'Thirty-years' War' has not yet been searchingly and comprehensively written: distinct portions have been ably investigated, but there is still much to be done in elucidation of its changing character and fluctuating policy; its effect on the Germanic constitution, its bearing on the recognised law of nations, and its influence, immediate or remote, on the state of Europe. 'It made,' says Heeren, 'Germany, the centre-point of European politics. It was not, however, a war carried on from beginning to end with one plan, and for one object. No one, at its commencement, could have foreseen its duration and extent. But the train of war was every where laid, and required only the match to set it going; more than one war was joined to it, and swallowed up in it: and the melancholy truth that war feeds itself, was never more clearly displayed.' The outbreaking of this complicated quarrel was in Bohemia; and, although, in the first instance, limited to a contest of privilege, or rather the assertion of civil and religious rights against an encroaching despot, the

field of warfare was enlarged by the ambition and fanaticism of the emperor Ferdinand, until the whole of Europe became involved, either directly or partially, in the strife.

It will be obvious from the title of the small but singularly comprehensive volume before us, that Mr. Hollings has not chosen to encounter the entire subject to which we have been referring. We regret this, for we are quite sure that his exemplary diligence in the collection of authorities, and the rare skill which he has manifested in their manipulation, must have given him complete success in an undertaking, difficult indeed but honourable in proportion to its difficulty, and of which we would indulge the hope that he has not lost sight. The older histories and biographies connected with this great series of events, are of exceedingly various merit, and require much caution and dexterity in the collation of their statements and the due appreciation of their worth; but there remain rich and as yet imperfectly examined treasures of information in the archives of the German and Bohemian nobles and princes. The value of the instruction to be obtained from these sources, has been recently proved by the result of 'Forster's Researches into the Life and Exploits of Wallenstein,' and in the important but unfinished work by Breyer, extracted mainly from the correspondence and autograph papers of Maximilian of Bavaria. The superiority of contemporary documents is admirably exemplified in the comparison of such publications as these with the heavy compilations of after times. Mr. Hollings has obviously availed himself, as far as possible, of the original authorities. The 'Swedish Intelligencer' has enabled him to give precision to the details of manœuvres and battles, while the quaint and pithy narrative of 'Old Monro' contributes much that is apt in illustration and amusing in manner.

We seem, however, to be in some danger of forgetting, in this reference to the important cycle of events with which the most splendid portion of the reign of Gustavus Adolphus was connected, that our immediate concern is with the latter only, and that we are trespassing on our due limits before we are, in fact, touching on our proper subject. We hasten then to rectify our error, if error it be, by describing briefly the character and objects of the work under review. We might, indeed, dismiss it with summary commendation, as comprising, within fewer than five hundred pages, the marking events of the most eventful period of European history. Yet is there no meagreness in this brevity. Mr. Hollings rarely throws away his words: a sound discrimination in the selection of facts, a clear apprehension of their connexion and sequence, with the power of setting all this before his reader in a striking point of view, have enabled him to give every important occurrence, not merely in expressive outline, but with the lights, shadows, and circumstantials of full and finished history. In no

part of his book is this mastery over his subject more decidedly shown, than in his disposal of the preliminary details. The affairs of Sweden from the reign of Margaret, the 'Semiramis of the North;' the complicated series of events connected with the Russian, Danish, and Polish wars; the causes and early vicissitudes of the 'Thirty-years' War;'—all this press of matter is comprised within one-hundred-and-fifty pages of lucid and agreeable narration. A cursory view of the remaining sections will enable our readers to judge for themselves of the style and execution of the work.

Gustavus Adolphus was born December 9th, 1594, and in his childhood gave promise of a resolute and enterprising character.

'It is said that, when only five years of age, he accompanied his father to Calmar, where an armament was in the process of being fitted out against the town of Lubeck—and that as he was gazing with childish curiosity on the ships of war which were preparing to put to sea, an officer of distinction approaching the spot inquired, 'which vessel he preferred among all he saw lying at anchor before him. 'That,' replied the child, stretching his hands towards one named 'Swartza Riddaren,' or the 'Black Knight,' which presented to view a formidable battery of the largest guns then in use. 'And why,' said the officer, continuing the conversation, 'Because,' replied Gustavus with eagerness, 'it is better furnished with cannons than all the rest.'

His education was carefully conducted by the ablest tutors, and his attainments appear to have been of the highest order. These qualifications, combined with graceful manners and considerable personal advantages, had, probably, a large share in determining the States of the kingdom to suspend the law which fixed the regal majority at the age of twenty-one, and to confer the unrestricted sovereignty on the young prince at his father's death, October 30th, 1611. He was early accustomed to active warfare, and his campaigns against Denmark, Muscovy, and Poland, gave him practical skill in the conducting of an army. It is not easy to determine the respective share which military propensity or conscientious feeling might have in determining him to enter on that more conspicuous field of action, where he found the species of glory which he coveted, and the early grave which he seems to have contemplated without dismay. If faith may be put in solemn asseveration, his intentions were of the purest and noblest kind; and, certainly, if ever there were legitimate motives for the waste of life and happiness that war occasions, they might be found in the dangers which threatened the franchises of Germany at that ominous season. However this may be, there probably cannot be found a finer example of intellectual and characteristic

energy, than that which is presented in the whole conduct of Gustavus during his brief and bright career. Into the details of that desperate warfare we do not feel ourselves called upon to enter: it may suffice to say, that he encountered the ablest of the imperial commanders, Tilly, Wallenstein, Pappenheim, men who had never known defeat till they encountered the Swedish monarch. The first, indeed whose long career of victory previous to his fatal rout at Leipsic, gained for him the repute of invincibility, had once before been foiled. In 1622, at Wistok in the palatinate, he had been compelled to give way before the skill and energy of the ablest of the German *Condottieri*, Count Ernest of Mansfeld. The consummate strategy which marked the movements of Gustavus before the memorable fight which gave the first check to the 'vaulting ambition' of the Austrian court, is distinctly traced, and the details of the battle will enable the reader who takes an interest in such matters, to understand the tactics both of the old school and of that which owed its improvements to the military genius of the gallant Swede. The passage of the Lech and the death-struggle of Lutzen, with the intervening movements and manœuvres are not less clearly and vividly described. We can afford but little space for extract, but the *avant-scene* of the battle in which Gustavus fell, is painted with so much spirit, that we must give it place.

'Two hours before day-break the king's attendants presented themselves for the purpose of arraying him for the field. Either owing to his known dislike to heavy armour, or to the circumstance of his having lately received a contusion in his right shoulder, which rendered its weight insupportable, he refused to wear the cuirass presented to him, with the words, 'The Lord God himself is my sufficient defence,' assuming an under-vest of elk-skin alone, which was supposed to be proof against a sword's thrust. The drums were then ordered to sound the reveillée and in a few minutes the whole Swedish force, who were standing to arms, listened to the solemn service of devotion performed by the chaplains of the several regiments. By this time the morning had dawned, but its rays struggled feebly with the heavy fog which had fallen on the preceding evening, and still continued so closely to envelop the field as to hide every object from view at the distance of two pikes' length. In one direction alone the dense medium was partially dispersed by a glimmering light, afterwards found to have proceeded from the flames consuming the village of Lutzen, which Wallenstein had commanded to be set on fire, for the purpose of preventing the Swedes from acting upon his right flank. As it was absolutely necessary to wait for the dispersion of the mist before giving orders for an advance, the king commanded the feverish interval of suspense to be employed in a general chant of Martin Luther's celebrated paraphrase of the forty-sixth psalm, commencing with 'God is our strong tower of refuge,' accompanied by the kettle-drums and trumpets of his whole army, followed by a hymn which he had him-

self composed containing sentiments similar to those expressed by the psalmist. This sublime prelude to the work of mortal contention was scarcely over, when a sudden breeze, drifting before it the mist which had hitherto hung like a curtain between the opposite hosts, allowed a burst of sunshine to fall upon the field, and presented the majestic array of each other's battle to the full gaze of either army.'

One more extract, and we must dismiss this interesting volume. In the Austrian service no man stood higher than Pappenheim, whose military eye enabled him always to discern the weak point of his antagonist, and whose determined charge seldom failed of its purposes except when the Swedish masses were opposed to its fierce career.

'This officer was, of all the leaders in the imperial service, the most remarkable for his chivalrous bravery, and for his reckless exposure of his person in action. Gustavus Adolphus, when jocularly discoursing of the principal generals whom it had been his fortune to encounter in Germany, used to distinguish Tilly by the title of the 'Old Corporal;' Wallenstein he distinguished as 'the Madman;' while upon Pappenheim, he bestowed the title of 'the Soldier,' in allusion to his impetuous valour, in the exercise of which he often forgot the more important duties of the commander. He was descended from a noble family, from which he inherited, at his birth, the dignity of grand marshal of the empire, and had, on many occasions since the commencement of the 'Thirty-years' war, attracted attention by his zeal in the service of the house of Austria. His readiness to court danger in every shape may be imagined from the circumstance, that after his death the marks of nearly a hundred scars were plainly discernible upon his person: and it is singular that he was scarcely ever present in an encounter, from which he escaped with but a single wound. As if intending to point out his turbulent and martial disposition from his infancy, nature is recorded to have imprinted the mark of two crossed swords, the armorial bearings of his house, upon his forehead, which, although scarcely perceptible on ordinary occasions, were plainly discerned whenever he was labouring under any extraordinary emotion.'

There are many points connected with this section of modern history that might well tempt us to avail ourselves of the subject as a text for dissertation, and we shall so far yield to impulse and opportunity as to touch for one moment on a matter of curious and not unprofitable speculation. The actual results of the 'Thirty years' war may be historically and experimentally ascertained; but what might they have been had Gustavus lived to work out the accomplishment of his designs? A farther question may be raised as to his real intentions—were they limited to the vindication of German freedom, or did they extend to a claim of sovereignty in his own person? Probably they included both; and we believe that it would have been, for Germany, a happy

consummation had they been fully realized. Niebuhr has, we think, put this matter in its true light, and we cannot do better than borrow his pithy language to express our own opinion. 'Ferdinand,' he says, 'was dark, bigoted, cruel, and zealous. At his court in Graetz nothing but Spanish was spoken. In this respect, too, Germany would have gained much had Gustavus lived to ascend the imperial throne. Gustavus had an essentially German education. He spoke and wrote German freely; Ferdinand did not. Gustavus, from a Teutonic tribe, with his education, his feelings, and dispositions, was more a German than Ferdinand, who was a Spaniard in feeling. Had Gustavus ascended the German throne, he would soon have been considered a German by the whole country, disposed as it was for the Reformation. But he fell: the Lutherans and Calvinists abandoned each other, and after Luther there was no great man among the Protestants. As it always has been in Germany, no plan-maker was to be found, or, which amounts to the same thing, every one was a plan-maker. Nowhere in Germany has the wealth returned which existed before the 'thirty years' war. The change is almost incredible. But the situation of the peasant is now much better than at that period. Wherever the free imperial cities ruled, the peasant was shockingly tyrannized over.'

A neatly executed portrait from the well-known engraving after Vandyke, gives to us Gustavus 'in his habit as he lived.'

Art. VI. *Emancipation in the West Indies. A Six Months' Tour in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, in the year 1837.* By JAMES A. THOME and J. HORACE KIMBALL. New York: Published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, 145, Nassau Street. 1838.

THE above is the title of a very important and interesting work from the pen of two gentlemen, who were deputed by the American Anti-Slavery Society, to make a tour of observation in the British West India colonies. Their mission was undertaken almost simultaneously with that of Joseph Sturge and his associates, and its results, identical on all main points with the statements in Mr. Sturge's publication, are here presented to the world, and we may justly characterize them as 'a munificent offering poured into the treasury' of enterprising and intelligent philanthropy. A more valuable, copious, and well arranged mass of evidence, has rarely been collected by such limited agency within so short a period, and we are not surprised to learn that the work is exciting great attention in the United States, and is

instrumental in making many valuable converts to immediate abolition. We trust some enterprising publisher will undertake to introduce it to the English public, by whom its singular value as an authentic record of various and abundant testimony on points, which at the present juncture are of peculiar and momentous interest, could scarcely fail to be appreciated. We may add, that the graphic style and spirited execution of the work, in addition to the enduring interest of its subject, would justify its claim to a permanent place in English and American literature.

The colonies visited by these benevolent Americans were Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica. Their stay in Antigua was extended over a period of nine weeks, during which time they may be said to have exhausted every respectable source of information. We have, in the First Part, a copious journal of their proceedings, of their tours and detours, of their attendance at public places, of their interviews with the Governor, members of Assembly, proprietors and managers of estates, merchants, clergy, and missionaries; and of their conversations in public and in private, in the cane-field, in the cottage, and by the way-side, with the emancipated negro. The names of persons and places are unreservedly communicated after the American fashion, which gives at once both authenticity and interest to the narrative. This minute and lengthened investigation has resulted in one deep, strong, and uninterrupted stream of testimony in favour of *immediate Emancipation*.

Part II. of the account of Antigua is devoted to a comparative view of the moral state of the negro population previous and subsequent to the abolition of slavery. It is here that the most important consequences of the great change are developed, consequences that reach to eternity, supplying themes of praise before the throne of God, and adding new joys to the felicity of heaven. We give a few brief extracts.

Religion and Morality :

‘There has been a perceptible increase in the attendance at the several places of worship since the abolition of slavery, especially in the rural districts; and in consequence, additional chapels and missionaries are greatly needed. Each of the denominations complains of the lack of men and houses.’—p. 95.

‘It has already been stated that the Sabbath was the market-day up to 1832, and this is evidence enough that the Lord’s-day was utterly desecrated by the mass of the population. Now there are few parts of our own country, equal in population, which can vie with Antigua in the solemn and respectful observance of the Sabbath.’—p. 97.

‘All persons of all professions testify to the fact that marriages are rapidly increasing. . . . It appears that the whole number of marriages during *ten years* previous to emancipation was but

half as great as the number for a single year following emancipation.'—p. 98.

'A worthy and experienced planter stated, that the inducements for the negroes to marry were much stronger now than during slavery. Now they could assist each other, *and mutual assistance was indispensable.*'—p. 99.

A reformation in this respect has also taken place among the upper classes.

'It is now plain that concubinage among the whites is nearly at an end. It is no longer *reputable*, and it cannot be persisted in without concealment or disgrace.'—p. 102.

'The abolition of slavery gave the death blow to open vice, overgrown and emboldened as it had become. Immediate emancipation, instead of lifting the flood-gates, was the only power strong enough to shut them down! It has restored the proper restraints upon vice, and supplied the incentives to virtue. . . . This is the voice of Antigua—the land of liberty and law. This is her affirmation as to the influence of emancipation on the morality of the community.'—p. 102.

Benevolent Institutions.—We pass over the very interesting statements of our authors respecting the Local Bible, Missionary, and Temperance Societies, to make room for some notice of the Friendly and Benefit Societies as existing among the freed negroes. These institutions, Mr. Sturge informs us,* devote a part of their funds to purposes of disinterested charity, and to the support of a hospital for lazars. We learn in addition to this, from Messrs. Thome and Kimball, that the Friendly Societies of Antigua are made efficient to the promotion of morality and good order. Members are expelled for drunkenness, disorderly living, and licentiousness. They forfeit their membership if they are put out of the church, or commit any offence punishable by a magistrate. Marriage and industry are encouraged by an extra distribution of rewards and premiums. The funds of the Friendly Societies among the Moravian negroes now amount to £2000 sterling, per annum, and those of the English church and Wesleyan Society are proportionably flourishing.

'The amount of good which has been effected by these Societies is incalculable. Some estimate may be formed of it from the vast sums of money annually raised and expended as circumstances require. Now be it remembered that the Friendly Societies exist solely among the freed negroes, and *that the moneys are raised exclusively among them.*

* The West Indies in 1837.

Among whom? A people who are said to be so proverbially improvident, that to emancipate them, would be to abandon them to beggary, nakedness, and starvation;—a people ‘who cannot take care of themselves;’ who ‘will not work when freed from the fear of the lash,’ &c., &c. Yea, among the negroes are these things done; and that too, where the wages are but one shilling (six-pence sterling) per day—less than sufficient, one would reasonably suppose, to provide daily food.’—p. 110.

Education. Messrs. Thome and Kimball have given interesting details of their visits to numerous schools. On one occasion they remark:

‘In looking over the writing, several ‘incendiary’ copies caught our eyes. One was, ‘*Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal.*’ Another, ‘*If I neglect the cause of my servant, what shall I do when I appear before my Master!*’ A few years ago, had children been permitted to write at all, one such copy as the above would have exploded the school, and perchance sent the teacher to jail for sedition. But now, thanks to God! the negro children of Antigua are taught liberty from their Bibles, from their song books, and from their *copy-books* too; they read of liberty, they sing of it, and they *write* of it; they chant to liberty in their school rooms, and they resume the strains on their homeward way, till every rustling lime-grove, and waving cane-field, is alive with their notes, and every hillock and dell rings with ‘free’ echoes.’—p. 122.

The general result of their inquiries on this head was,

‘First, that education was by no means extensive previous to emancipation. The testimony of one planter was, that not a *tenth-part* of the present adult population knew the letters of the alphabet. Other planters, and some missionaries thought the proportion might be somewhat larger; but all agreed that it was very small.’—p. 126.

‘Second,—Education has become very extensive since emancipation. There are probably not less than *six thousand* children who now enjoy daily instruction. These are of all ages under twelve. At that period they generally leave the schools and go to work.

* * * *

‘Sabbath-schools, adult and infant-schools, day and evening schools, are all crowded. A teacher in a Sabbath-school in St. John’s informed us, that the increase in that school immediately after emancipation was so sudden and great, that he could compare it to nothing but the rising of the mercury when the thermometer is removed *out of the shade into the sun.*’—p. 127.

In Part III. the Authors have thrown an immense amount of ‘Facts and Testimony’ into the form of illustrations and proofs, of a series of twenty-one propositions, embracing almost every important point that can be raised respecting the changes subsequent

on abolition, with a design to show the bearings of their investigation on the question of Emancipation in the United States and other slave countries. On many of these subjects, to wit, the increased value of estates, the stimulus given to trade, to building, to enterprising speculations of various kinds, the increased, or rather the newly created sense of security to persons and property, &c., &c., much information has already been laid, from a variety of sources, before the English public; our space, therefore, will only permit us to refer in general terms to Messrs. Thome and Kimball's work as containing many valuable statements, interspersed with striking anecdotes. We will select for particular remark, as a sort of general index to the whole, the universal change of opinion in the island on the subject of slavery. The Hon. N. Nugent, Speaker of Assembly, and a man of great talent and influence, remarks :

‘Such was the state of feeling, previous to emancipation, that it would have been certain disgrace for any planter to have avowed the least sympathy with anti-slavery sentiments. *The humane might have their hopes and aspirations, and they might secretly long to see slavery ultimately terminated*; but they would not dare to make such feelings public. They would at once have been branded as the enemies of their country.’—p. 200.

A cycle of ages could not have effected a more complete revolution in the state of public sentiment in Antigua than two short years' enjoyment of the sweets of freedom. If we mistake not, the same eminent individual assured Mr. Sturge, that ‘he did not believe there was a man in the island who could lay his hand upon his heart and say he would wish to return to the former state of things.’ The secret longings and aspirations are now of a *pro-slavery* character, and very secret and hopeless they are—*shame* as effectually repressing them as fear did anti-slavery hopes and sentiments formerly.

‘Slavery,—emancipation,—freedom,—are the universal topics of conversation in Antigua. Anti-slavery is the popular doctrine among all classes. *He is considered an enemy to his country* who opposes the principles of liberty. The planters look with astonishment on the continuance of slavery in the United States, and express their strong belief that it must soon terminate there and throughout the world. They hailed the arrival of French and American visitors on tours of inquiry as a bright omen.’—p. 203.

The planters of Antigua now love the light, and are willing to bring their deeds to the light. On their first landing our authors observe :

‘Our solicitude on entering the island of Antigua will readily be

imagined. Charged with a mission so nearly concerning the political and domestic institutions of the colony, we might well be doubtful as to the manner of our reception.'—p. 15.

Their fears were groundless. On the very day of their arrival, an influential individual

'Assured us we need not apprehend the least difficulty in procuring information, adding, *'We are all free here now, and every man can speak his sentiments unawed. We have nothing to conceal in our present system; had you come here as the advocates of slavery, you might have met with a very different reception.'*—p. 16.

We had noted other passages for quotation, but our limits compel us to forbear; and we must observe, that we have found it impossible, where almost every paragraph contains an important principle or an interesting fact, to make such selections as would give an adequate impression of the work under review. Such is the amount and variety of evidence, that we apprehend, if the most intelligent persons of every class and condition in Antigua, were assembled in the presence of an American or English auditors, the result of their *vivâ voce* testimony could scarcely be more satisfactory and conclusive to the candid mind than a perusal of the present volume.

Leaving Antigua we accompany our tourists to the fertile and teeming island of Barbadoes, whose features, both physical and social, are fully laid open to us in a series of highly animated sketches. One of the circumstances chiefly noticeable is the exposé by planters of the true features of that odious system from which THEY have been emancipated. What a revelation of slavery we may hereafter expect from the West Indies; transcending our present liveliest conceptions of its misery and horror! Mr. C., a planter, stated,

'That mothers would kill their children rather than see them grow up to be slaves. But this evil is now done away. I assure you it is not one evil alone that abolition has removed, *but a thousand.* Ah, he continued, in a solemn tone, pausing a moment, and looking at us in a most earnest manner, I could write a book about the evils of slavery. I could write a book about these things.'—p. 234.

And they add:

'We are here reminded of a fact stated by Mr. C. on another occasion. He said, that he once attended at the death of a planter who had been noted for his severity to his slaves. It was the most horrid scene he ever witnessed. For hours before his death he was in the extremest agony, and the only words which he uttered were, *'Africa, O Africa!'* These words he repeated every few minutes, till he died.

And such a ghastly countenance, such distortions of the muscles, such a hellish glare of the eye, and such convulsions of the body—it made him shudder to think of them.’—Note, p. 235.

At another time, Colonel Ashby, an influential proprietor, stated to them, that,

‘The abolition of slavery had been an incalculable blessing. He had not always entertained the same views respecting emancipation. Before it took place, he was a violent opposer of any measure tending to abolition. He regarded the English abolitionists and the anti-slavery members in parliament with unmingled hatred. He had often cursed Wilberforce most bitterly, and thought that no doom, either in this life, or the life to come, was too bad for him. ‘But,’ he exclaimed, ‘how mistaken I was about that man—I am convinced of it now—O he was a good man—a noble philanthropist—if there is a chair in heaven Wilberforce is in it.’ Colonel A. is somewhat skeptical, which will account for his hypothetical way of speaking about heaven.’—p. 249.

Of the change of system from slavery to apprenticeship, it may be stated briefly and generally, that Messrs. Thome and Kimball found the planters highly delighted with it; and not without reason, as real estates had risen 50 per cent., and the Government had kindly relieved them of the most irksome, and odious part of the practical administration of coercion. They could also go to bed at night free from those tormenting fears of insurrection and assassination, with which an alarmed conscience formerly disturbed their rest. As far as the welfare of the negroes, and the true interests of the colony were concerned, our Authors found every reason to disapprove of that pernicious and unstatesman-like scheme. In fact, its sentence of condemnation was heard from the lips of all parties, including the governor, special magistrates, and a majority of the planters with whom they conversed. Their experience of the administration of *justice* by the stipendiaries, tallies with that of Mr. Sturge.

‘We witnessed several trials there which were similar in frivolity and meanness to those detailed above. We were shocked with the mockery of justice, and the indifference to the interests of the negro apparent in the course of the magistrate. It seemed that little more was necessary than for the manager or overseer to make his complaint and swear to it, and the apprentice was forthwith condemned to punishment. We never saw a set of men in whose countenances fierce and demoniac passions were so strongly marked as in the overseers and managers who were assembled at the station house. Trained up to use the whip, and to tyrannize over the slaves, their grim and evil expression accorded with their hateful occupation.’—p. 276.

The observations on the inadequate remuneration of the special magistrates, and its consequences, are very pertinent.

‘The magistrates are continually exposed to those temptations, which West India planters can so artfully present in the shape of sumptuous dinners. They doubtless find it very convenient, when their stinted purses run low, and mutton and wines run high, to do as the New England school-master does, ‘board round ;’ and it would be well for the apprentices, if this kind of indebtedness to ‘massa’ operated as favourably for them as the pedagogue’s indebtedness to the parents does for the children of his school ; but unfortunately the relation of the parties is different, and consequently the dependence of the magistrate upon the planter is of all things the most deprecated by the apprentice.*

‘Congeniality of feeling, habits, views, style, and rank—identity of country and colour—these powerful influences bias the magistrate toward the master, at the same time that the absence of them all, estrange and even repel him from the apprentice. There is still an additional consideration which operates against the unfortunate apprentice. The men selected for magistrates, are mostly officers of the army and navy. To those who are acquainted with the arbitrary habits of military and naval officers, and with the iron despotism which they exercise among the soldiers and sailors, the bare mention of this fact is sufficient to convince them of the unenviable situation of the apprentice. It is at best but a gloomy transfer from the mercies of a slave-driver, to the justice of a military magistrate.’—pp. 333, 334.

The account of Jamaica is by no means the least important part of the work. It presents a striking contrast to the state of Antigua, and is almost the exact counterpart of the gloomy picture given by Mr. Sturge in his ‘West Indies in 1837.’ We would gladly pass it over in silence, fervently trusting that it may now be read as the history of a state of things, which has, ere this, been superseded by a better and a brighter era. Many striking passages have arrested our attention, which prove that the negroes are worthy of all the efforts which have been made on their behalf, and that they will use to the best purposes the boon of freedom which has just been conferred upon them. Jamaica has been called, as if in bitter mockery, ‘the brightest jewel in the British crown ;’ ten years hence she will have become such in reality and in truth.

* “The feelings of apprentices on this point are well illustrated by the following anecdote, which was related to us while in the West Indies. The governor of one of the islands, shortly after his arrival, dined with one of the wealthiest proprietors. The next day one of the negroes of the estate said to another, ‘De new gubner been *poison’d*.’ ‘What dat you say?’ inquired the other, in astonishment, ‘De gubner been *poison’d*.’ ‘Dah, now!—How him poisoned?’ ‘*Him eat massa turtle soup last night*,’ said the shrewd negro. The other took his meaning at once ; and his sympathy for the governor was turned into concern for himself, when he perceived that the poison was one from which *he* was likely to suffer more than his excellency.”

The perusal of Messrs. Thome and Kimball's work has renewed our most sanguine hopes of the beneficial results of the recent agitation in this country, upon the welfare of all classes in the colonies. But the events of the last few months will have a yet wider influence, and will impress a character on the future destinies of the British empire. The world has never yet witnessed a philanthropic movement, more pure in its origin, more single in its aim, more energetic in its character, more signally successful in its result. We regard it as a noble and heart-cheering example of the power of *united* prayerful Christian effort, when undistracted and untrammelled by religious sect or political party. The practical lesson will not be lost. A large, and, we rejoice to believe, an increasing class of our countrymen have gained a knowledge of their power as the depositaries of a *moral influence* adequate to direct and control the national mind. They have acquired simultaneously a new and greatly enlarged sense of their responsibilities. They have not placed themselves in a position to indulge in complacent retrospection or to relapse, as erewhile they did, into a lethargic and almost fatal slumber. On the contrary, they find themselves but at the entrance of their field of labour. They have won not a final victory, but a vantage-ground, from whence they may consolidate and secure what has been gained, and whence, also, they may behold, spread out before them the scene of future conflict, filled with the numerous forces and strongholds of the enemy. Like the Israelites of old they have passed through the divided waters of Jordan, and compassed a great city whose high and strong walls have fallen down at the very sound of their rams' horns, but there remains yet a land full of idolatry, polluted with the reeking altars of Moloch, and with all manner of horrid and impure rites, a land groaning under the iron despotism of British Christian rulers in whose councils Mammon sits supreme—to be conquered, purified, and possessed in the name of the Lord God of Hosts.

Well-timed is the eloquent inquiry; 'Why do England and the United States possess the keys of the world?' Can any consider their rank among the nations; first in power and in influence, and neighbours through commercial enterprise to every tribe and people on the entire face of the globe;—can any one regard their close and intimate relationship, identified, as they are, in origin, in language, in religion, in national character, and pursuits—and refuse to believe that they are destined to be chief and associated agents in diffusing Christianity and civilization to the uttermost ends of the earth? But how can America with the one hand offer to convey the cheering light of evangelical truth and the glad tidings of gospel freedom to distant parts of the world, when with the other hand she forcibly retains millions of immortal souls, the children of her own soil, in gross darkness and under a galling

yoke? Or how can England expect a blessing on her gospel labours, while she lends her sanction to slavery in the west, and to a pre-eminently cruel and impure idolatry in the east? The success hitherto attendant on missionary enterprises proves that the means employed are in their *nature* adapted to the end, but how inadequate are they in extent! Nor can it ever be otherwise until, by a process of internal purification, England and America are fitted to sustain exertions on a scale in some degree co-extensive with their vast responsibilities, and with the supreme importance of the interests at stake. We rejoice, therefore, to see the leaven, which is working in these countries, and instead of viewing what has been already attained and what is immediately in prospect, in the light of final results, we regard them as an evident and most necessary preparation for future and widely diffused efforts, to spread the knowledge of divine truth, and to extend the reign of justice, benevolence, and love.

In the British empire the fall of negro slavery is decreed, the cessation is promised of our connexion with Hindoo idolatry, the Coolie slave-trade is suppressed, the robbery and murder of the deeply injured Caffres, and the expulsion of Canadian Indians from lands which are theirs by inheritance and by solemn treaty, are stayed. We rejoice at these successes—they seem to tell of cords severed and weights removed, of difficulties and obstructions taken out of the way, which have impeded and held back this nation in its hitherto feeble and inadequate efforts to enlarge the boundaries of the Redeemer's kingdom. We rejoice with trembling, for too often the performances of statesmen are to their professions as the shadow to the substance, and to secure even the points already gained there will be need for years to come of jealous and increasing vigilance, with intervals possibly of strenuous exertion.

The victims of slavery in the East Indies, and of the grinding despotism under which the natives of that vast continent exist, next claim English sympathy and succour. A lively interest is beginning to be manifested in the state of our colonial dependencies. A few years ago it was almost impossible to draw public attention to any colonial question, except West Indian slavery. Now the national heart is beginning to respond to the groans of the millions in India, who are bound in spiritual chains and darkness, and in outward bondage and affliction. Information is eagerly desired not only of the condition and treatment of our fellow-subjects of every race and hue, but respecting the conduct pursued towards those independent, aboriginal tribes situated on the borders of our vast territories. The sound public sentiment of England is gradually being brought to bear upon the policy of the government. Many recent official documents breathe a just and benevolent spirit, and condemn in distinct terms the

past measures of government as equally inconsistent with equity and sound policy. These instances of repentance and confession,—a new and most interesting feature in state papers—may, we trust, be regarded as the tokens of a sincere and salutary change. Certainly, they constitute one of the favourable signs of the times.

If we turn our attention to the United States, the condition of public opinion on slavery, the deeply rooted prejudice of caste, the measures and avowed principles of the government exhibit a prospect, gloomy and discouraging in the extreme, but a more searching inquiry will assure us that even there the fields are becoming ripe unto the harvest. The Anti-Slavery Society, a band of the best and brightest spirits in the land, has its proto-martyr, its hundred newspapers, its thousand auxiliaries, and its publications, unsurpassed in learning, in information, in eloquence, in cogency of argument, in earnestness of appeal, its legion of distinguished and zealous agents, its prayers countless and unceasing, offered up in the secret closet, at the family altar, in the public assembly, and above all as the promise of certain and speedy success, it has its overflowing measure of persecution and reproach. The unphilosophical observer might suppose, that the late outrages at Alton and Philadelphia were symptoms of a retrograde movement. On the contrary, they are the surest sign of progression. A few short years ago Boston was the scene of conflict and danger, now the state of Massachusetts is foremost in the Anti-slavery cause. The principle of freedom reigns in her Supreme Court of law, in her Senate, and Chamber of Representation. The antiabolition riots of Boston have resulted in the triumph of anti-slavery sentiments throughout the oldest and most important state in the Union. Violence and outrage are now transferred to Pennsylvania, a state bordering upon slavery. The result is inevitable: the peaceful revolution of that important state is as certain as if it were already effected. We shall next expect to hear of the cowardly spirit of outrage and mob law, taking refuge in the wilds of Kentucky, and from thence, directing its flight to the Carolinas; and so finally, with slavery following in its rear, retreating southward, till the land is cleared of their infectious taint, and both are buried for ever in the Gulf of Mexico!—May that day be hastened!

Art. VII. *Celestial Scenery: or the Wonders of the Planetary System displayed; illustrating the Perfections of Deity and a Plurality of Worlds.* By THOMAS DICK, LL.D. Third Edition. London: Ward and Co.

THE design of this volume, as the author informs us in his preface, is to instruct general readers, to direct their attention to the study of the heavens, and to present to their view sublime objects of contemplation. The more abstruse parts of astronomical science are avoided, while its principal facts are introduced, with the foundation on which they rest, and the reasonings which support them. It proposes, in short, to furnish a compendium of descriptive astronomy.

Some persons may think that such a work is unnecessary, on account of the existence already of various treatises of which a few profess similar objects; while others, with more scientific pretensions, are adapted to guide the student and the philosopher into the profounder mysteries of astronomical and mathematical investigation. But for many reasons, we are of a different opinion. It is desirable to multiply, by repeated publications, the stimulants to useful curiosity; to replenish the uninformed but inquiring mind with that kind of knowledge whose moral tendencies are beneficial; and from time to time to gather the scattered fragments of discovery which lie here and there upon the fields of science, so that those who are traversing them with interest or can be allured to do so, may be able distinctly to perceive what has been done or what may yet be accomplished.

The science of astronomy is, perhaps, the most fascinating of all others to the imagination. It opens, at once, scenes of grandeur and magnificence which kindle emotions of awe and sublimity. The entranced observer seems to step from the little nook in which he dwells into the high road of nature, to pass into the regions of immensity, and possess himself of the riches of the universe. He sees matter in its vastest dimensions, motion in its most rapid and complicated operation, *divine mechanism* in its most extended and most beautiful contrivances, space in its illimitable amplitude. He contemplates no longer atoms, but worlds; he studies not the beauties of a flower, but the splendour of the firmament; he investigates not the laws of a flowing river or a passing wind, or a mineral formation, but the forces that bind and guide rolling planets, erratic comets, and suns, and systems imbedded in the measureless depths of infinity. Every thing is great and glorious above, beneath, and around him, while he only is insignificant; and yet not insignificant—for by what wondrous combination of mind with matter is it that he, but a breathing atom, should still be capable of tracing the works and ascertaining the arrangements of infinite wisdom, and watching, with

reverence, be it written, the movements of deity? If we compare the worm that has just perforated the soil and obtrudes upon our path with the whole globe of the earth, even that reptile is an elephant in magnitude to man, in comparison with even the mere section of creation which lies within the reach of his vision. How is it then, that this less than worm, in the comparison, should be more and greater in fact than even the systems on systems of matter he contemplates in space; but, because, he can contemplate them, and can systematize them, and can contrive and point the telescope to detect the secrets of creation? It is, because, he is instinct with intellectual life and moral power, and great by his capacity and knowledge.

But it is not the only or the chief use of astronomical science to excite awe and admiration, filling the mind with scenes of surpassing magnificence, or rousing the fancy to lofty imaginings; little is done compared with what might be if the higher order of feelings be not awakened. The romance of sentiment should ascend to the reality of devotion; for every new acquisition in this department of knowledge ought to be subservient to the creature's worship of his great Creator. This impression can scarcely be what it ought to be, unless we admit the doctrine of the plurality of worlds—not only engaging the mind in the study of the structure and mechanism of external nature, but realizing the fact to which all its arrangements and adaptations give the utmost probability; amounting, indeed, to a moral demonstration, that both the planetary and starry orbs are the habitations of intelligent and immortal beings. One of the principal causes of that irreligious, or, at least, indifferent feeling towards God which is not unfrequently prevalent among men of science, and even astronomers whose indevotion is, as the poet says, a madness—one of its principal causes is, we verily believe, their proneness to separate these two essential elements of the divine character as developed in his work; that is, to view the displays of his natural attributes apart from his moral perfections; and to refuse that application of the subject to their own particular position in the universe to which it legitimately leads. The eagerness of their examination into the wonderful modifications of matter, unaided and uncontrolled by the principle of religion in the heart, influences such men in studying the contrivances of nature to overlook or practically to disregard the contriver, and to keep themselves apart from the sublimer contemplation of benevolent purposes as resulting in moral obligation. They think it enough to ascertain what is done and to admire the plan and the execution; but mistake their own general estimation of what is vast and magnificent for a real knowledge and worship of God. But the connexion between what God is in nature, and what he is or is willing to be to us as represented in Scripture is

most beautiful, and but for the perversion of our minds would be most obvious. Do we see by the light of scientific discovery that we are every where surrounded by infinite and irresistible power and benevolent contrivance? Surely the thought is plain and the deduction natural, that beings like ourselves cannot be uncared for, and that conscious of our feebleness we may repose upon his strength. If the minutest atom as well as the rolling world is under his eye and preserved by his power, and this it must be, or the world composed by its multiform accumulations and aggregations could not roll on, then I, an individual but intelligent atom—insignificant yet important—frail yet immortal—cannot be overlooked—unprovided for and unblest. His universal intelligence knows me perfectly, his power upholds me continually, his goodness supplies or is ready to supply me abundantly with the means not of subsistence only, but of happiness; and if I err or rebel, he must be more willing to pardon than to punish. From all these and other considerations result responsibility and obligation to glorify his name, to return to him if I have been estranged, and while admiring his glory in creation to obey his will and love his name as revealed in Scripture.

While, however, so many who do study the attractive science in question, fail to appreciate its highest purposes and to make the fullest use of its revelation, there are multitudes who bestow no attention whatever upon it, though some of its surprising facts lie within the reach of daily observation and of the dullest intellect. We can sympathise, therefore, with the indignant tone of the following passage.

‘It is amazing how many intellectual men there are among us who would not wish to be altogether ignorant of modern astronomy, who have never looked up to the celestial vault with fixed attention—who have never made repeated observations to discover its phenomena—and who cannot tell, from their own survey, what are the various motions it exhibits. There are thousands and ten thousands who have gazed on a clear evening sky, at certain intervals, during a period of many years, who can tell no more about the glorious scene around them, than that they behold a number of shining points twinkling in every direction in the canopy above. Whether these bodies shift their position with regard to each other, or remain at the same relative distances—whether any of them appear in motion, while others appear at rest—whether the whole celestial canopy appears to stand still, or is carried round with some general motion—whether all the stars which are seen at six o'clock in the evening are also visible at twelve at midnight—whether the stars rise and set as the sun and moon appear to do—whether they rise in the east or north-east, or in any other quarter—whether some rise and set regularly while others never descend below the horizon—whether any particular stars are occasionally moving, backwards or forwards, and in what parts of the heavens they appear

—whether there are stars in our sky in the day-time as well as during the night—whether the same clusters of stars are to be seen in summer as in winter? To these and similar questions there are multitudes who have received a regular education, and *who are members of a Christian church* who could give no satisfactory answers!’

The author proceeds to show that persons of common understandings might acquire this knowledge in a comparatively short time, and by a few consecutive observations; and that the apathy of Christians, in general, with regard to the most magnificent of the Creator's work is truly astonishing. This is very true, yet we could not help being a little amused at the reference to members of churches. Astronomical science would be a new kind of test or qualification for Christian communion! We should imagine the apostles instituted no such test, and we must really put in a plea on behalf of the poor, who have the gospel preached to them, that from their state of dependence admits of few opportunities for the cultivation of taste, if they had it; so that we cannot, in conscience, absolutely condemn them *quasi* members of churches. Men are commonly enthusiastic in their own line, and we admire enthusiasm in the pursuit of knowledge, and in the appreciation of what is obtained—we can even venerate the ardor of the antiquarian, the conchologist, or the botanist as well as the astronomer; but the estimate of an old coin with even its historical associations or the technical characters of a shell well imprinted on the mind, or the genus, and order, and species of a flower thoroughly understood, or even the orbits of planets and the variations of stars is happily not essential to christianity. Our author must forgive this smile; we know well that he is as much assured as ourselves that it is moral and spiritual excellence which fits for the associations of religion. We must admit, nevertheless, that a profession of religion involves the obligation to acquaint ourselves with God in all his works and ways.

The volume is divided into nine chapters, in which the general facts already known respecting the solar system are brought together, with additional statements derived from personal observation. The results of tedious calculations of the solid and superficial contents of the different planets and their satellites are given—their comparative magnitudes and orbicular movements—the modes of determining their distances and dimensions—and the chief arguments for a plurality of worlds are considered. A new department of astronomical science is introduced, namely, the scenery of the heavens as exhibited from the surfaces of the different planets and their satellites, which will prove both amusing and instructive to young inquirers; and the author has faithfully adhered to his own prefatory declaration, that throughout he has endeavoured to make the facts he describes bear upon the

illustration of the power, wisdom, benevolence, and the moral government of the Almighty, and to elevate the views of the reader to the contemplation of Him who sits on the throne of the universe, 'by whom the worlds were made,' and who is the source and the centre of all felicity.

As a fair specimen of the work, and, particularly, of that part which has the greatest claim to novelty, we subjoin the following extract.

'Celestial Scenery in Jupiter.—The only planet whose appearance will be conspicuous in the firmament of Jupiter is the planet *Saturn*, which will appear with a surface four times greater than is exhibited in our sky, and will appear larger than either Jupiter or Venus does to us, particularly at the time of its opposition to the sun. At certain other periods, when near the time of its conjunction with the sun, it will appear considerably smaller than when viewed from the earth; as, at such periods, Saturn is nearly fourteen hundred millions of miles distant from Jupiter, while it is never beyond ten hundred millions from the earth, even at its remotest distance. The planet Uranus, which is scarcely visible to our unassisted sight, will not be much more distinguishable at Jupiter than with us, even at the period of its opposition, although Jupiter is at that time four-hundred millions of miles nearer it than a spectator on the earth. At other times, when near its conjunction with the sun, it will be two-thousand-three-hundred millions of miles from Jupiter, which is four-hundred millions of miles more distant than it ever is from us. Mars will scarcely be seen from Jupiter, both on account of his smallness and his proximity to the sun; for at his greatest elongation, he can never be more than eighteen degrees from that luminary. The earth, too, will be invisible from Jupiter, both on account of its small size, its distance, and its being in the immediate vicinity of the sun and immersed in its rays, so that the inhabitants of this planet will scarcely suspect that such a globe as that on which we dwell exists in the universe. It is a humiliating consideration to reflect that before we have passed over one-fourth part of the extent of our system, this earth with all its kingdoms and fancied grandeur, of which mortals are so proud, vanishes from the sight, as if it were a mere atom in creation, and is altogether unnoticed and unknown. It is calculated to convey a lesson of *humility* and humanity to those proud and ambitious mortals who glory in their riches, and in the small patches of earthly territory they have acquired at the expense of the blood of thousands of their fellow-men, and who fancy themselves to be a species of demi-gods, because they have assisted in the conquest of nations, and in spreading ruin and devastation over the earth. Let us wing our flight to Jupiter or Saturn which appear so conspicuous in our nocturnal sky, and before we have arrived at the middle point of our planetary system, this globe on which we tread, and all the proud mortals that dwell upon its surface, vanish from the sight, as a particle of water with its microscopic animalculæ, dropped into the ocean, disappears for ever. In those regions more expansive and magnificent scenes open to view, and their inhabitants—if ever

they have heard of such beings as fallen man—look down with an eye of pity and consolation, and view their characters and conduct with a holy indignation and contempt.

‘Venus and Mercury will, of course, be altogether invisible from the surface of Jupiter, and it is questionable, whether, even, the planets Vesta, Juno, Ceres, and Pallas will be perceived. But although so few of the primary planets are seen in the nocturnal sky of this planet, its firmament will present a most splendid and variegated aspect by the diversified phases, eclipses, and movements of the satellites with which it is encircled; so that its inhabitants will be more charmed and interested by the phenomena presented by their own moons than by their contemplation of the other bodies of the system.’—pp. 443—445.

Art. VII. *The Psalmist: a Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, suited to all the varieties of Metrical Psalmody; consisting principally of Tunes already in general use for Congregational Worship, newly harmonized for four voices, with a separate Accompaniment for the Organ or Piano-forte: the greater part by Vincent Novello. Comprising also many original Compositions and Adaptations contributed expressly to this work, by himself and other eminent Professors: the whole adapted as well for Social and Domestic Devotion as for Public Worship.* Part III. London: Jackson and Walford.

EVERY one may satisfy himself by a moderate attention to his own consciousness that the utterance of any sentiment whatever, gives it a force which it did not previously possess—that the belief of others being the subjects of the same feelings with ourselves deepens our own emotions, (partly perhaps by increasing our conviction of their propriety)—and that their simultaneous expression by a sympathizing multitude carries them to the highest pitch of intensity. Congregational psalmody is the fulfilment of these conditions by means which perfectly harmonize with its end and object—the promotion of the devotional feelings. Religious sentiments are embodied in metrical language, and thus it becomes easy for *multitudes* to combine in their recitation without clamour and confusion—and at the same time to avail themselves of the potent aid of music, which augments our feelings, by increasing our power of expressing them.

The great truths by which religion makes demands on our various emotions, even when apprehended, can never be felt in a degree commensurate with their importance. If then some proportion between the feeling of the heart and the import of the words on the lip can be produced only now and then, it is a posi-

tive good. The impression, which from its nature can only be transitory and occasional, will lend its influence to deepen the tone of our habitual and intermediate state of feeling.

Moreover, this takes place during a professedly religious service, when many things conspire to hinder it from degenerating into a mere gratification of taste, and a barren excitement of the sensibility. There is or ought to be here, the efficient presentation to the mind, not only of the proper occasions of emotion, but of the great reason why it is good to be moved at all—that we may act—and this is more likely to secure an effectual reception when the mind is moved already. There is no just objection to any means of stirring the feelings when at the same time they are made the allies of an enlightened and rectified will.

The annals of the Reformation in France, Germany, and our own country, show that music of the right kind and rightly employed, can be made an engine of vast effect in facilitating the progress of truth, and the sacred volume frequently recognizes its salutary potency. Why is it that in our experience its achievements do not parallel or even approach what has been recorded of it? Man remains the same. His nature is not more rebellious to its influence now, than it was when the minstrel's harp could prepare the prophet for the illapses of inspiration, or soothe the bosom of one under a preter-natural frenzy. It is comparatively ineffective with us only because we have ceased to appeal to its power. Our devotional music has become in a great measure spurious, and our practice of it formal; and we need nothing else to explain the insignificance of the results.

It is impossible in this life to present the perfect idea of the choral worship of God. We may conceive that to be independent of the aid of set compositions and tune-books. But one of its essential elements we may be certain is, the entire sincerity of all the innumerable company. What on earth is a pleasing and charitable fiction—that the heart of the multitude is as the heart of one man, must there be the simple and evident truth. In proportion to our belief in this state of things on earth, the poorest specimen of psalmody yields to a good man a delight which no combination of genius and musical talent can afford. There are, however, plenty of ways of counteracting this idea, on which, as a means, nearly the whole effect of psalmody depends. It is destroyed when a whole congregation is called upon to utter sentiments which mark the variations of individual feeling, but could never be expected to exist in a multitude of minds at the same time. Hymns proper enough for the closet become worse than useless when put into the mouths of a congregation. They know that they cannot and ought not to be required to sing them with the heart, and they comply with the announcement from the desk, only as a form in which it is decent for them to join.

This mistake is often committed for the sake of some piece of music which the congregation being familiar with, therefore approves. 'Vital Spark of Heavenly Flame,' is an instance glaringly in point. Compositions of a didactic character, conveying instruction in a medium of poetry, are happily abundant, and every variety of appeal and exhortation is to be met with in our collections. But it is usurping the functions of the pulpit to make the people preach to themselves by singing them. They are not hymns—that is, devotional compositions—and therefore, however useful they may be found, they prevent a higher use of the rite by perverting it from its true end, which is, worship. When our hymns express feelings that are proper to the engagement, and therefore ought to be the inmates of all bosoms, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the power of sympathy.

We have said that music answers a double purpose in psalmody, or should do so. It renders the recitation of multitudes orderly and simultaneous, and contributes to impart and enhance emotion by its power of expressing it. There is room to suspect that the great majority of tunes ordinarily heard in our chapels, fulfil only the first of these ends, or if the latter, in a much less degree than is both possible and desirable. Many of the most popular exert an influence which is worse than negative. As far as they convey any sentiment at all, it is often not of a kind fit for the occasion on which they are used, and therefore instead of being the auxiliaries of devotion, they rather repress it. It may be at once objected to us, 'there is no disputing about tastes'—you may think as you do about our old favourites—but if we 'are in the majority, your predilections are not to be complied with to our annoyance.' This is the universal argument against proposed reformatations in matters of taste, and if it were intended to deny, what is implied in the very terms, that pleasure is the result of gratifying all manner of tastes, it would be conclusive as well as trite. We should not contradict the Esquimaux who vaunted seal oil as a nice article of diet, however satisfied that our palates relished higher and purer flavours. But the question is one of degree—and none are qualified to decide it, who are only acquainted with one of the two classes competing for preference. Every body requires that a correspondence should be observable between tunes and the words which may be sung to them, and feels that one tune may excel another in this congruity. If not, the words of 'God Save the Queen,' might be set to the jig called 'Drops of Brandy,'—or, to quit the glaringly absurd, the hymn beginning, 'Come, let us join our Cheerful Songs,' might be sung to 'Burford,' or 'Thee we adore Eternal Name,' to 'Mount Pleasant'—'Lonsdale' would be as often the tune for 'And must this body die,' as 'St. Bride's'; and all without raising the sense of contrast and unfitness. If these are self-evident

instances of the justness of the principle, as we are disposed to think them, is it not possible that the faculty of discrimination, if heedfully cultivated, may at last decide that tunes now widely popular are unfit for devotional use at all—and not merely by comparison with the beautiful melodies they have thrust out of notice? We are only inviting to finer appreciations and higher enjoyments.

There is also an argument 'in arrest of judgment' which it may be as well to anticipate. It is alleged, that if many of our tunes are not the best that could be adopted, they serve their purpose, and supply what is lacking, by the associations our congregations attach to them. If time and use are to give qualities to tunes which did not originally belong to them, we may increase our stores on these principles, by proselyting among profane songs to any extent. Our clerks may set long metres and common metres to 'Friend of my Soul,' 'Fly not Yet,' 'Flow on thou Shining River,' just as a notorious composer has done by 'Me Bacchus Fires,' 'Glorious Apollo,' and the popular duet 'Deserted by the Waning Moon.' Circumstances extrinsic to them may invest some of the worst tunes with a charm that belongs to none besides. Nothing is more likely or certain. But the particular recollections which afford this intense delight cannot be common to many people. Perhaps, on such grounds as these, no one tune would secure a majority of votes for its preservation. Moreover, associations equally solemn and affecting, will gather round the best tunes, if they are but sung often enough. And then we predict that the congregation which has permitted the reform will enjoy the recompence.

No tunes can vindicate their claim to be heard in the worship of God, which do not possess that quality of solemnity which summons the mind to devotion, and calls it from the world. Whatever excellence of other kinds they may exhibit, this is a cardinal requisite, and its absence is sufficient reason for banishing them summarily from our religious services. By asserting the absolute necessity of solemnity, we of course do not mean that religion, without which hope and joy are but flattering illusions, affords no scope for the musical expression of cheerful and animating feelings,—but that these when called into exercise by sacred motives have that belonging to them which forbids all light and frivolous modes of expressing them. It is possible to be solemn without gloom and to rejoice with reverence. On this score then, who can defend the tunes called Hampshire, Ebenezer New, Calcutta, Zion Church, Zadok, Church Street, Whitby, &c.

An analysis of tunes which do fulfil this great condition, discovers that they for the most part resemble each other in allotting one bar for the musical expression of two syllables, and if more

than one, never more than two notes to each syllable. While the melody is kept within the compass of about eight notes, which is usually that of the human voice. These restrictions, which genius has imposed on itself, also secure the expression of the rhythm or measure of the stanza, and facility of performance by a congregation—points almost equally important with the first. But these three requisites—the expression of a devotional sentiment—identity of accentuation with that of the metre—and facility of execution, are not often separable and independent. The fault which destroys one will often affect the others equally. Vulgar conventional phrases and snatches of secular melody, absurd attempts at the fugue, or short points of imitation which the voices repeat without respect to the sense of the words—the metrical fall of the syllables placed on the wrong parts of the bar—one line taking twice as many bars as it ought, while others are defrauded of their due proportion—all these are allies in annulling the constituents of a good psalm-tune. Their combined action is very well exemplified in such tunes as Cranbrook, Derby, Oxford, Kentucky, Cambridge New, Calcutta, &c., &c. In Leach (290, Rip.) the symmetry of the tune is spoilt by a senseless repetition of the last line, while a vulgar trolling of notes is expended on one word ('and lives to die no m-o-r-e,') making its duration six times as long as any other of its fellow-syllables. A similar deviation from the regularity of the metre takes place in 'Darkhouse' and 'Clifton.' The absurdity of this becomes evident if we imagine the clerk giving out the stanza in the metrical form it must assume when it comes to be sung to tunes, of which the three we have named are fair specimens. Long passages of short notes on single words are found in the most admired compositions, and we suppose the deformity we are censuring in psalm tunes is owing to a blind spirit of rivalry in their makers. They forget that, in the one case, it is only expressing the word which carries the sentiment in an appropriate strain of music, which can never fall on an insignificant or unsuitable word—that the idea of a cantata admits of this and every other means of making the music closely expressive of the specific sentiments of the words, which that of a psalm tune does not—while the former is not bound like a psalm tune to the observance of any measured accentuation. The attempt at a fugue is totally out of character in a psalm tune—because were the limits of the corale sufficient to develop its progress, it is destructive of the rhythm, and by interrupting the steady syllabic march of the melody, tends to keep the congregation silent, or makes them fall into confusion. In most of the cases where particular tunes seem to enjoy a patent right of being sung to particular hymns, e. g. Cranbrook, Zion Church, Atwaters, to the hymns beginning 'Grace, 'tis a charming sound,' 'How did my heart rejoice to

hear,' 'With all my powers of heart and tongue;' it is perhaps this very peculiarity which has been the cause of such special conjunctions. There is some noisy passage to be answered in succession by the different parts, and the congregation execute them with great promptitude and energy. The basses are boldly daring when they have it all to themselves, and the counter-tenors pleasingly venturous on the verge of the impossible at those junctures of the strain that are contrived to display them. But it may be doubted whether all this fervor results so much from an exaltation of emotion, as from the run of the music admitting and inviting a loud and exhilarating uplifting of the voice. The tune itself, and not any feeling the tune expresses, is the thing thought of.

Many ideas, beautiful in themselves when sung with the expression of a solo singer, varying from the declamatory to that of intense feeling or peaceful repose, become impracticable to a congregation. 'Hotham' may be taken as an example of a good melody, but too delicate in its character for general use. But if a tune so beautiful as 'Hotham' is on this account scarcely manageable by an assembly, what shall be urged in favor of many in which the same or a greater degree of structural unfitness for congregational use is not compensated by excellency of a different kind; as *Calcutta*, *Leach*, *Condescension*, with their quirks and quaver passages—or, *Eaton*, *Eythorn*, *Knaresboro'*, &c., where the like faults are committed by semi-quavers?

The true corale is to exercise the vocal powers of a multitude. Its music must therefore move in masses. It must be simple in its conception and structure, and broadly expressive of a devotional feeling. It is *then* among its properties to have its effect increased the greater the number of voices engaged in singing it—to be adapted, either in itself or by alteration of its time or 'expression,' to a great variety of sentiments; though not often to any two that are in strong opposition. Its cadences, or the musical periods which terminate each line, may be made to contribute to the expressiveness of the composition, while they prevent tedium by delighting the ear with their harmony. The Collection whose title heads our remarks, contains multitudes of beautiful specimens. We may instance *St. Mary's*, *Windsor* (119), *Burford* (44), *Tirzah* (204), &c., as corales expressing the emotions which awe and subdue. They are characterized by a progression of the melody from one note to its next, and by a solemn and pathetic fall in their cadences. On the contrary, ideas of praise, joy, expectation, when musically expressed, are marked by a bold outline, the melody proceeding by thirds and fourths, with strongly marked changes of harmony—affording unexpected resting places in the cadence—as in *Chichester*, *Jerusalem*, *Darwells*, *Eisenach*, *Warwick*, *Westminster New*, *York*,

Clifton, Montgomery, and many others; while love, veneration, and the feelings of a tender or plaintive character call for smooth flowing equable melody, undisturbed by bold and unexpected contrasts. Of this kind, Abridge, St. Stephens, Sunbury, Melcombe, Tiverton, Havannah, Patmos, Liverpool, Manchester, are unexceptionable examples.

It is the old corale, bold, dignified, and simple in its outline, that more evidently possesses the comprehensiveness which fits it for great latitude of application. It has, what has been technically called an apathetic character, devoid of the sensuous forms of modern melody. Analogous to a general term, it expresses a *class* of feelings, but not their *specific* differences. There is nothing in its melody to forbid the alteration of 'time' and 'expression,' as the feeling of the words sung to it may require. The modern corale, perhaps deriving its invention from the serious glee or verse movements of the cathedral anthem, is marked by the elegant flow of its parts and the expressiveness of its melody; approaching more or less nearly to the ballad, whose nature it is to express more closely the feeling of the stanzas it is set to than that of any others. We are thus offered the means of forming a permanent union between hymns of particular shades of sentiment, and the tunes which are best adapted to express them. And provided the selected tunes are calculated for congregational use, both tunes and hymns will increase in force of impression by such appropriations. Let the principle which should dictate the conjunction be duly recognized, and all the rest may be left to the operation of public taste. We abstain from specifying what conjunctions of hymns and tunes are in our opinion most suitable, lest the bans should be forbidden. But to name a few tunes which appear to contain facilities for what we recommend:—Wirksworth is penitential; Antwerp tells of our mortality, and is full of the memory of human woe; Mount Ephraim denotes confidence, but it is the confidence of hope, not of possession—mingling anticipations of escape with the recollection that suffering is not yet over; St. George's expresses cheerful reliance, and Cary's, grateful praise, but both are rather tender than bold; Gloucester, on the contrary, declares the trust that exults, and counts the promise already won. We offer our opinions with unaffected deference to better judges. As it is, we have often to lament that the tune counteracts the effect of the words. We were lately required to sing Watts's beautiful paraphrase of the 139th Psalm, which calls upon us to stand in awe because God is around us, to 'Horsley'—a tune which almost obliges us to show that we however have no becoming sense of the overwhelming fact. This is perhaps the most perfect way of defeating the end of psalmody.

In animadverting on the tunes which enjoy a traditional popu-

larity, we cannot pretend to give a complete index expurgatorius. Perhaps we have not signalised the greatest criminals. Let every body turn informer for himself, and they will soon be denounced. Let him see how often whining insipidity has been mistaken for pathos—pertness and familiarity for gracefulness—and bombast for majesty—while sometimes nothing but the supposition of a fortuitous concurrence of notes will account for the tunes in which they occur. But it must be remembered that there can be no discrimination exercised if the attention is still to be exclusively occupied by the same tunes. It must be by familiarity with those not ordinarily heard in our chapels, that a taste can be created for them; and this may come to have an expulsive power fatal to the popularity of many of our present favourites.

We have said that the principal effect of psalmody depends on the belief entertained by those who engage in it of their common sincerity. The liability to impression in each member being in proportion to the mass he believes to be sympathising with him. It might safely be said that psalmody can have no faults except those which impair this community of feeling or prevent its recognition. All that we have instanced do one or both of these, as a little reflection will make evident. The harsh predominance of one voice straining itself, often in a vain effort to keep a congregation to the tune is likely to operate both ways. The censurable attempts of many persons to sustain a part, for which they have not the requisite musical skill, nor perhaps the right quality of voice, must mar the effect of the whole on all who are unfortunate enough to be within their range. Countertenors uncertainly flickering over the scale, till a happy accident confirms their confidence by bringing them in tune—basses jarring the ear by unallowable discords—and the well-meant but not benevolent attempts of those to whom nature has given neither voice nor ear for music, are all disturbing causes to every body but those who present them.

We judge of a man's earnestness, in great part, by the 'expression' he gives to his enunciation. A friend professing his regard, with as little emphasis, as if he were giving his opinion of the weather or asking the time of day—a multitude testifying their loyalty to a present sovereign by lisped and heartless tokens of welcome; would be ludicrous hypocrisies. We may make ourselves certain, that devotion is dying when hosannas languish on our tongues. But beyond vigorous shouting, or occasionally an almost inaudible monotony, what 'expression' do the generality of our choral efforts exhibit? And what is expressed by these more than the fact that the congregation does or does not enjoy the tune? It would be credulous to think emotion of any kind was manifested. 'Expression' is resolvable into degrees of quickness or slowness, loudness or softness. The two first, must of

course, be maintained uniformly through the whole tune : though it may be altered to accommodate the sense of the next verse if necessary, according as that may be calculated to animate us or to soothe the voice into a slow and pensive cadence.

We may distribute the force of our voice as we please over the whole melody—throwing it into whatever bars or even notes we chose ; as best suits the sentiment to be conveyed. But we are writing as though people required to be taught all this. As if mothers depended on the instruction of professors for the mode in which they might best indicate their love for their children—as if no man knew when to speak fast or loud, or on what words to lay stress, until he had qualified himself by pains-taking and tuition. As in reading or speaking, let us know what we mean, speak distinctly and be in earnest, and we may trust to nature for all besides. These things are not artifices, or elocutionists and rhetoricians would do something more than name their tools—they would earn the credit of making them. How is it, then, that our practice does not exemplify the same great instincts which concern both singing and speech ? It would be indecent and manifestly false, to explain this by the absence of sincerity. The great majority of those who sing in our congregations may fairly be supposed to adopt, for the time at least, the sentiments they utter, and, therefore, might be expected to evince the ardor and depth of their feelings by their manner of declaring them. The deficiency in our opinion may be accounted for, by the obstacles which radically bad tunes oppose. They express no feeling, and, therefore, need no ‘expression.’ The cure then is to be found in the substitution of the good for the bad. By the use of those which admit and invite expression, the taste and skill will unconsciously develope themselves. Nevertheless, until that time arrive, there will be a great advantage in pursuing the means we have to recommend.

We believe the ancient objection to the use of organs is wearing away in our denominations. They are felt to be not only appropriate from the very quality of their tones, but a great assistance to the psalmody of congregations too large to allow their voices to be drowned by the volume of their sound. They lead great numbers more effectually than can be accomplished by any one man. We think there is another advantage to be derived from their use—they would operate beneficially on the taste of those who employed them. Tunes which we are content to sing, would become intolerable when their jingling passages and meagre harmonies were heard from an instrument that would so plainly reveal their real character. Although, it must be confessed, that bad taste has often continued to preside in defiance of them.

Reformations rarely if ever begin in the multitude. Defects

however enormous are submitted to for ages without suspicion until perceived by those who have the power of influencing the mass. In no other way we conceive can our psalmody undergo a complete reform. It is, therefore, to those whose character and position give them weight in our congregations, that we address ourselves. The few bright examples of what may be done to rescue our psalmody from the censures passed upon it by all qualified judges out of our pale, have been thus created. It might be invidious to name them. The practicability and aptness of the means we have to recommend have been proved in the instances we allude to, where success in the next degree to perfect has crowned the efforts of the few.

The principal features of the plans adopted in these cases have been, the banishment of the volumes which have so long maintained an injurious supremacy—the employment of the collection under review—and the establishment of meetings for the practice of psalmody during the week. A sufficient number of people have thus been rendered familiar with the new tunes, and capable of singing all with accuracy. The gentlemen who have assumed the direction of these meetings have proceeded gradually. Correctness in time and tune were the first points insisted on and secured. ‘Expression’ was afterwards attended to, and in a great measure attained. If in any thing they have failed it is owing to no fault of theirs, but to a prevailing insensibility to the claims this duty of praising God has upon our best efforts to render it not unworthy of the Being who must condescend even to listen to the anthems of heaven. Praise is graciously accepted, we are encouraged to believe—but only when it is ‘comely.’ We have been content to bring the lame and the sickly for offerings. We have seemed to think that it is not worth while, much less an obvious duty, for the people to qualify themselves for the only part that falls upon them in the worship of God. They may do this as well as they can, or not all; if they so choose. This case is an exception to the general rule; ‘no voice can be improved by cultivation—every body reads music by the light of nature, and forms an harmonious bass or tenor by the spontaneous suggestion of his untutored ear.’ We should not tolerate the same marks of want of care and study in the ministrations of the pulpit. The heart and understanding we know are chiefly to be looked to, for it is these alone that God regards. The harshest whooping that could be heard from a hut-full of converted Hottentots—if it proceeded from no spurious feeling, is of higher account than the most finished performances of the vain and self-respecting. But is it evidence of a right state of the heart, or indeed of the understanding, to leave imperfect what might be improved? Neglect in this matter, when it is not the result of ignorance, closely resembles presumption and profanity.

There is a point in the progress of such attempts as we are advocating, when the psalmody may possibly exhibit somewhat of a cold and artificial character. It may be expected to occur just before a sufficient number of people have qualified themselves to bear a part in the new and better mode of performing the duty, before the mass of the congregation is accustomed to the wide transition and familiar with the newly introduced melodies. But time will cure this—and there will be the less to cure, the more zealously the congregation co-operate in whatever methods of reform may be pursued. It may be thought by some, that we desire a degree of perfection in the singing of our congregations which is not attainable, nor if it were, desirable—that we wish to render it a musical performance which may gratify the ear and taste of the fastidious. The tenour of our observations ought to repel this charge. It is the perfection of psalmody which we would promote, not that which belongs to the concert-room. Could we, by one stroke of our pen, realize all we desire—instead of a smaller number of singers, there would be many more than at present. For almost every body might use his voice at some pitch or other with addition to the general effect, as well as profit to himself. It is not travelling out of our record, to refer to the great advantage which the rite would receive, were the announcement of the hymn and tune, and the recitation of the former which is customary amongst us, committed to those who would not shock us by a style of delivery either formal or flippant, irreverent or pompous. We could instance congregations that have been great gainers by relinquishing the services of those whose only qualifications are, perhaps, loudness of voice and a superficial knowledge of music, for the unpaid superintendence of men of education, taste, skill in music, and best of all for our purpose, piety. In most of our chapels one or two uniting these attributes might surely be found; are they ashamed to use them in such service?

It would contribute not a little to the future perfection of psalmody, were facilities afforded in our colleges for instruction in the science of music, and those principles of taste which have respect to it. This would secure at least one man of influence in each congregation, competent to repair the defects we at present deplore. We say repair, because it must be recollected, that it was not always as it is now; psalmody had a brighter era, and to that standard we desire to return.

The laudable and successful attempt which is being made in a suburban hamlet to introduce a knowledge of music and a love of its pleasures, into classes of society which we have hitherto been content to leave a prey to debasing appetites and sordid engagements, albeit ready enough to exasperate the evils by legislating against them, should it provoke imitation, will tell favorably on

psalmody itself. In the instance we refer to, this forms a prominent part of their choral performances, which considering the short time since the experiment was begun, reflect the highest credit on the zeal and ability of the gentleman to whom the public is principally indebted, for practically bringing this means of civilization before its notice.

We refer our readers to the very able preface of the Psalmist for a summary of the sacred history of music, with a copious citation of authorities from which there is no appeal to justify its religious use; if that can be thought necessary. It also contains a succinct account of the rise and progress of psalmody. The scheme of the work is perspicuously declared, and reflects the highest credit on those who devised it. The principles which have guided the compilers in the choice of tunes are plain, and will approve themselves to every one who allows himself the pleasure of reading their preface. The result is a collection unrivalled in the number of unexceptionable tunes it contains, and in the beauty of their arrangements, in which the harmonies are rich and full, without being abstruse or intricate. This of itself is a very great improvement on the popular collections, which are notoriously poor and deficient in arrangement; no slight fault when it is recollected that chords or simultaneous sounds affect us precisely as sounds in succession do. Harmony is a power of expression, often equal and sometimes superior to melody. It gratifies more than the appetite of the ear. It can be made to excite the imagination and stir the heart.

The ease of performers of ordinary skill has been consulted by every simplification consistent with musical propriety. The tenor and alto clefs, which few are acquainted with, are discarded. A few of the arrangements, especially in the first part of the work, are in a style altogether too chromatic. The basses have more of the florid and instrumental character than should be found in compositions for popular use, and that on occasions when devotion and not display is regarded. But the great majority of the tunes are not open to this objection.

The collection is enriched by many beautiful adaptations from the greatest masters, made on principles to which nothing can be objected. The subjects are unknown to the generality, and therefore, although some of them were not designed for the service of religion by their authors, they are not likely to suggest ideas of a contrary tendency. The evil of many of our adaptations is, that the tunes were popular before they were consecrated. We have made priests of the meanest of the people. But the better and more deservedly popular any secular tune is, the more strongly will it be surrounded by associations foreign to and by contrast repellent of devotional feelings. Forgetfulness of this fact made the great religious leader ask, 'why the devil should be

‘suffered to keep all the good tunes to himself? straightway enriching the psalmody of his chapel by the abduction of ‘Rule ‘Brittania,’ ‘Away with Melancholy,’ and a few others. He should have been cautious—we have plenty of tunes that might tempt reprisals on the part of the enemy. Let our subjects be taken from the untravelled depths of musical literature, and we may adapt as largely as we choose without offence.

The list of those who have contributed to fill the three numbers already issued, includes the most classical composers of all ages. Nor is there a name of eminence in the present musical world that is not creditably represented by one or more tunes, some of surpassing beauty.

The compositions of the late Samuel Wesley, who had no superior among the moderns in the facility with which he threw off the most perfect specimens of the *corale*, have enriched the pages of the psalmist, especially the third number, to a very great extent. Among so much excellence it would be difficult as well as invidious to particularize. Nor would our limits permit it. The work, when completed (a fourth number is promised) will be a splendid, and, in many cases, a voluntary offering from the highest genius to the service of religion—rich beyond any precedent in faultless beauty of melody, and the most finished resources of harmony—a volume full of the loftiest style of music—that of the passions.

In one point, we think, the compilers have avowedly erred. ‘Conscious of the difficulty of direct innovations on established ‘customs and prejudices, they have deemed it necessary to yield ‘so far to the present taste in psalmody, as to include in their ‘selection some of those tunes, whose principal claim to insertion ‘will be found in their existing popularity.’ Is it a likely way to win a man to virtue by allowing him to retain a few of his favorite vices. The motto of a reformer should be ‘less than thorough ‘will not do it.’ The false principles of taste, or the culpable supineness under the absence of any principles whatever, which the patronage of meagre and vulgar tunes implies, are not only tolerated by the introduction of specimens into a selection of such just pretensions as the present; but the people who thus receive indulgencies for these sins against taste, will in time quote the authority of the Psalmist, to prove that neither these nor any like them are sins at all. But there is room for difference of opinion on this point. Regarding the Psalmist as a standard, which we predict it will be, our remarks are just—as it is an instrument of practical reformation, which must unfortunately be ‘as the people ‘will bear it,’ perhaps they have not complied with the fondness of old partialities to a sufficient extent. But at a time when an attempt has just been made, which from the sanction and influence of the Sunday-School-Union, must be too successful, to

prolong the reign of vulgarity and common-place over our sacred music, it is the more necessary that a work which cannot fail to be the opponent, as it is the very opposite of the 'Union Tune Book,' should occupy no neutral position. These two can never enjoy a divided empire in any congregation, for the one exemplifies with curious care, both in the tunes selected and in their arrangements, all the faults which the other has avoided. It is to be regretted, that the exertions of a few public spirited and disinterested persons in the cause of psalmody, the first fruits of which have been a long time before the public, have met with no more respect from the directors of that useful society. They might, at least, have forbore to employ their widely-extended agency in counteracting a very laudable effort.

Art. VIII. *Travels in Palestine and Syria*. By GEORGE ROBINSON, Esq. Illustrated with Maps and Plans. In 2 vols. 12mo. Vol. i., Palestine; vol. ii., Syria. London: Henry Colburn.

HOWEVER ludicrous the idleness which, under pretence of curiosity, urges so many of our countrymen to the ends of the earth; and whatever may be the worthlessness of the '*knowledge gained in foreign parts*,' which idle people publish '*at request of friends*;' none will deny to us the praise of contributing largely to the accumulation of facts concerning the habits and manners that belong to conditions of society totally different from our own.

In the shoals that migrate from the British Isles every summer, it cannot be pretended that any tolerable proportion have either the preparatory knowledge that teaches what to observe, or the discrimination and industry that fit them for giving to others any valuable detail of their remarks. Hence, the intelligent inhabitants of other countries often smile at our countrymen scampering through regions which they visit merely to say, '*I have travelled there*, and gazing at objects of which they mistake the nature. We, also, who stay at home are disposed to mirth or severity, according to the predominant feeling of the moment, when '*Personal adventures*,' or '*Remarks made in a tour*' beguile us of money and time; giving nought in exchange but facts as interesting as that the intrepid authors were, on some particular spot of the earth's surface compelled to drink bad wine and sleep on uncomfortable beds; and adding to the common stock of human knowledge no ideas more novel than what Johnson said would be contributed by Goldsmith on his return from his projected eastern travels. '*Goldy*,' said the moralist, '*would bring home a wheelbarrow and exhibit it as a curiosity*?'

But, while we have just causes to allege for contempt of the qualification and acquisitions of many a travelled author, we are not backward to admit the benefit accruing to the world from the accumulation of narratives by observers who, carrying out a sufficient stock of preparatory knowledge and allowing themselves sufficient time for observation, have at last had the modesty to content themselves with accurate statements unincumbered with distracting details of travellers '*petite personne*' or the yet more wearisome annoyance of interminable discussion on matters of which readers know but little, and cursory observers probably know less.

The public has now some delicacy in the choice of the viands prepared for its taste. A book is no longer thought attractive, simply, because it contains '*news from a far country*.' We ask for accuracy and discrimination. We are more solicitous to know what the author saw with his eyes and heard with his ears, than to be informed how he fared, or what he conjectured.

This demand for exact information is precisely what is met by the volumes of Mr. Robinson. Even in those parts of the work which bring us nothing absolutely new, we feel the advantage of having in small compass, the matter hitherto scattered through many volumes of various degrees of merit, some of them expensive in form and inconvenient in arrangement. Yet this work is not a dry compression of the results of other men's labour; on the contrary, it bears the stamp of interesting fidelity, and carries along with it the confidence of the reader.

The maps and plans essential to a work of the kind are given in so unostentatious a form, that general readers may possibly not at first sight suspect their merit. But, when they have been tested by use, their value will be acknowledged! The countries which Mr. Robinson's volumes bring under our notice, have been visited, indeed, by men whose works will ever command attention for the learning, the imagination, or the piety with which they are imbued. But the reader of Chateaubriand and of La Martine feels a perpetual need of some sober guide to take him by the hand and aid him to realize as matter of fact the scenes which suggested their exciting aspirations. With the tact that belongs only to the experienced traveller, Mr. Robinson presents in his maps and plans answers to the very questions suggested by a perusal of the text. Knowing that the traveller's need of information is most provokingly tantalized, on hearing that some large library contains many most excellent works in which lies scattered the knowledge that he can use only when stowed in his valise, the author has provided for others the matter, the possession of which at the commencement of his own travels, would have spared him much fatigue, and saved him from many an hour of anxious uncertainty.

The value of Mr. Robinson's habit of exact narrative, is peculiarly evident in that part of his work which details his excursion in '*the country beyond Jordan*.' There few have ventured; and, to say nothing of personal safety, none could return thence with any intelligence to the public, unless they had first, like this traveller, familiarised themselves with the language and been able to assume the habit of the roving Bedouin. Only they who have felt the difficulty of making their way into an unexplored district will be able to anticipate the obligation which future visitors of the land, where '*the two tribes and a half*' found their promised rest, will acknowledge to the author of these volumes.

In the acknowledgments of those who follow his footsteps the author will ultimately find his chief reward. A lively emotion thrills through the hearts of those who '*have known the Holy Scriptures from their youth*,' as often as they hear of spots '*which their earliest dreams have dwelt upon*,' and which bear names hallowed alike by perpetual connexion with their purest studies, and by being the sources of their most spiritualising meditations. This interest will never fail to produce a supply of readers for works like that before us. And the intellectual character of our age will readily bestow attention upon a work, that not only interests warmly by its subject, but instructs accurately by its matter.

That Mr. Robinson did not pass through Syria and Palestine with the eye and heart of a mere biographer, we have evidence in his frequent allusions to the sublimity of natural scenery, and in the commiseration with which he depicts recollections of fallen greatness. As '*brevity is the soul of wit*,' a single word from a feeling heart is often more forcible than a lengthened description to indicate sympathy; especially, when real faith, scorning obtrusion upon the world, is the source of the tear that must spring '*where sad Judæa weeps beneath her palm*.' These affecting touches, often conveyed in half a sentence, are so interspersed with the topographical information as to be incapable of being shown by mere extracts. Our readers will admire with us expressions of taste, sympathy, and piety blended with exact information. We may illustrate our meaning by a few instances in which the very nature of the scenes described would indeed enforce a pensive thought upon any mind not hardened by worldliness to callous indifference.

The approach to Jerusalem claims our first notice.

'As we approach Jerusalem, the road becomes more and more rugged, and all appearance of vegetation ceases. The rocks are scantily covered with soil, and what little verdure might have existed in the spring is now, in the autumn, entirely burnt up. There is a like absence of animal life; and it is no exaggeration to say, '*here man*

dwelleth not ; the beast wandereth not, and the bird flieth not.' Indeed, nothing indicates the immediate approach to the ancient metropolis of Judæa, unless it be the apparent evidences of a curse upon its soil, impressed in the dreadful characters just mentioned, whilst '*the inhabitants thereof are scattered abroad.*' Oftentimes on the road was I tempted to exclaim, '*like the stranger that shall come from a far land,*' 'Wherefore hath the Lord done this unto the land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger?'

As we read this we can participate in the awe with which the author subjoins, in a foot-note, the response, '*Because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, and broken the everlasting covenant.*'

The description of the approach proceeds.

'Impatient to catch the first glimpse of the city, I had rode on at the head of the party, when upon reaching an eminence, which for some time past we had seen before us, a line of embattled walls, above which, a few cupolas and minarets raised their heads, suddenly presented itself to my anxious view. *I did not INQUIRE if this was Jerusalem.* Indeed, I could not have satisfied my inquiry had I wished, for not a living creature was moving without the city walls. I FELT, however, that it was the Holy City; at the same time, I was disappointed in its general appearance, and in the impressions I was prepared to receive, upon viewing for the first time, the place that had so long enjoyed the special favours of heaven, and which at a later and ever-memorable period, was fixed upon by our Lord to be the theatre of his sufferings for our redemption. This surprise originated, not so much on account of the aspect of the town (for as yet we had seen but little of it) as from the singularity of its position; being surrounded by mountains, without any cultivated land within the range of vision, destitute of water, and not apparently on any high-road.' As my companions successively came up, they evidently participated in this feeling of disappointment. We remained silent a few minutes, each one declining to communicate his sensations to the other; or, perhaps, unable to do so from the novelty of our situation.'—vol. i., pp. 35—37.

Could we give space for the entire Fifth Chapter of the Second Volume, our readers would join us in envying the Author's feelings as the cedars of Lebanon and the yet upright columns of Balbec stood before his sight. That the forest is reduced to a grove, and the temple's ruins lie at the base of six remaining columns, add to the melancholy interest inseparable from admiration of these magnificent relics of man's greatness and of nature's vastness.

The Temple of the Sun, like '*fair Melrose,*' should be viewed '*by sweet moonlight.*'

'As I entered the grand court, in which are contained the principal

ruins, a general silence prevailed throughout, even the shepherd's pipe, which but a few minutes before had caught my ear in the plain, had now ceased to be heard. But it was the silence of death and of widowed greatness, for here man once dwelt—here, space, material, and art, were all made subservient to his views of grandeur and magnificence. From thence I directed my steps to the more perfect temple, standing in the area below ; but the masses of prostrate columns, and chiselled marbles, which obstructed its entrance, seemed almost to interdict an approach. After slipping and falling repeatedly, I gained the interior. Here my presence occasioned a panic amongst a host of birds, apparently wild pigeons, which had taken up their abode in the temple ; and I was not a little startled myself by the fluttering and bustle that ensued, in consequence of my intrusion.

‘ One half of the building, which is roofless, lay buried in gloomy shadow ; whilst the moonlight rested with complacency upon the upper story of the remainder, and gave a fanciful embellishment to the elaborate sculptures with which it is adorned. Viewed by day, these beautiful structures, though replete with interest and delight, carry with them a mingled feeling of humiliation and regret : humiliation at the reflection of the transitory greatness of all human conceptions ; and regret, that such proud relics of man's genius, should be held by a people incapable of appreciating their merits, and consequently heedless of their further and complete destruction ; whereas, by the uncertain light which reigns at this hour, the greater part of the deficiencies are supplied by fancy, and the mind is irresistibly carried back to the period of its perfect state, when incense burnt on its altars, and these walls resounded with the chants of a people, sacrificing to the great luminary which enlightens the world and sheds its blessed influence on the earth. Emerging from the dark recesses of the sanctuary, my attention was suddenly called to the six noble detached columns, standing upon the upper platform, and shooting high up into the air ; the effect of which at this moment, was heightened to sublimity by the moonbeams reflecting on their shafts, and by the solemn stillness that reigned around them. Seated upon a fallen fragment of this august pile, and riveted to the spot by a melancholy yet pleasurable feeling, I remained, I dare not say how long, absorbed in reflection and emotions, which the place, the hour, and the serenity of the night, were all so well calculated to inspire.’—Vol. II., pp. 103—105.

The beauty of natural scenery is not lost upon our author. After describing the course of the Orontes, and the general aspect of the cultivated spots on its banks, he thus pictures his sensations :

‘ But Nature is more apparent than Art in this picturesque valley ; and no where, indeed, in my long course of travel, have I seen her beauties lavished with so bountiful a hand. It is hardly within the reach of language to convey an adequate idea of the luxuriant variety

of foliage which presents itself on every side. Besides the rich green myrtle and laurel, mixed up with the wild vine; the bay-tree, arbutus, plane-tree, and sycamore, are scattered about in all directions. But it was not the eye alone that was charmed. The fruit-trees, which are here very abundant, were now in full blossom, and sent forth an agreeable fragrance as we passed along; and to complete the gratification of the senses, the occasional shallows of the river kept up a perpetual murmur, which soothed the ear, and more than once invited us to repose.' 'One single regret mingled itself with our pleasure, viz. that, owing to its distance from our homes, we could not hope to make it the object of our frequent pilgrimage.'—ib., pp. 301—302.

That one who could, as these extracts show, feel and describe the beauty of nature, the grandeur of antiquity, the ravages of time, and the judicial sentences of Providence, should be so sparing in digressions of these kinds, if digressions they can be called, is a fault for which we only find an apology in the paramount duty which the author had imposed on himself of making a book wherein the principal characteristic should be utility. As, however, none knows better than he the ennobling worth, the real utility, of whatever calls off man from the near to the distant; we suggest to him the claim which the public has upon him for information,—(as to accuracy we need not doubt him,) enlivened to the utmost by all his varied power of intellect and feeling. He lived with the Bedouin, speaking his language and wearing his dress. In Egypt he had much intercourse with the various races. Of the Levant he tells us that very few travellers have made so complete and extensive a tour as himself. In Greece he has seen the glorious monuments of Hellas, the devastations of barbarism, and the commingled chicanery and patriotism of regeneration. Surely the same journals and recollections as have furnished these two volumes contain stores of matter that, by virtue of his own motto, we say the author OWES to us.

We cannot close this notice of Mr. Robinson's work without calling attention to the thanks which those who love the best of all truths will cheerfully render to an author whose own faith was evidently confirmed by a personal visit to the scene of God's manifestation of himself, and who returns with evidence to '*strengthen his brethren*.'

That men go to Palestine believers and return sceptics, is often asserted; but it is only true of the ill-informed portion of believers, (too numerous we admit,) who know not how to distinguish between the obvious and palpable falsehood of pretences to certainty in identifying minute localities, and the equally obvious and palpable truth that the soil of Judæa is the land given to a peculiar people, hallowed for all nations by the footsteps of Him

who gave himself for the light of the world, and baptized with his blood by the name of Holy. A well-informed Christian traveller cannot *there* lose his faith, nor will even the conviction that every spot is incapable of being proved to be the precise scene of the event from which it claims celebrity, be a valid reason for doubting the event itself, recorded upon perfectly independent testimony, or even for checking the sympathies aroused by the mere name.

These diverse operations of true and false philosophy we may well illustrate by a beautiful extract from our Author's remarks at the Grotto of Jeremiah.

'A little to the right of the road, is an ancient quarry, the entrance to which, now walled up, faces the south. This is shown as the cave, or grotto, to which the prophet Jeremiah retired, to pour forth his lamentations. It is in possession of the Turks, and the guardianship of it is confided to a dervish, who lives in a small hut contiguous to it. Christians are not admitted. Opening the sacred volume at this spot, the surest, and at the same time the most instructive guide in these parts, and referring to those sublime inspirations of the prophet, I began reading, 'How doth the city sit solitary that *was* full of people! How is she become as a widow! She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!' 'Her gates are desolate.' 'All her beauty is departed.' 'Her filthiness is in her skirts.'

'Unconscious of what I was doing, I looked around me to see him whose voice I thought I heard. Not a human creature was within sight. A thrilling trembling seized me, at the consciousness that an omnipotent, though invisible Being stood by, whose prescient powers had enabled one who was despised by all, to picture thus faithfully, and to the very letter, the future state of a city, that at the moment the prophecy was delivered, was in possession of all the elements of worldly prosperity.'

The readers of Volney will here be reminded of the sublime opening of '*Les Ruines*.' Happier beyond all comparison in our judgment, is the philosophy which calls not up an unsubstantial shade to resolve its doubts, but hears, with our Author, the sure word which declares that 'by God nations rise and fall.'

Brief Notices.

The Christian's Daily Treasure: a Religious Exercise for every day in the year. By Ebenezer Temple. Second Edition, revised. London: Ward & Co. 1838.

A sort of imitation of Jay's Morning and Evening Exercises. Not so original or striking—but very useful, plain, and pious. The remarks on the passages of Scripture selected for each day, are in the form of short sketches of sermons, and are written with much simplicity. As supplying materials for profitable thought to plain pious people—as affording suitable help to occasional preachers in our villages—we can cordially recommend the volume. We congratulate Mr. Temple on his success, and we hope his desire to be *useful* may be realized.

The Imagery of Foreign Travel; or, Descriptive Extracts from Scenes and Impressions in Egypt, India, &c. &c. Selected and re-published by the Author. London: Longman and Co. 12mo. 1838.

Few writers possess, in so happy a degree as Major Sherer, the faculty of putting the scenes they describe before their readers. He fills up what others leave in outline, and familiarises us, consequently, with the emotions awakened as well as with the objects seen. The present volume, consisting of extracts from several of his works descriptive of scenes in India, Arabia, Italy, Germany, Sicily, &c. is one of the most interesting companions which a traveller can desire, and will do much more than books ordinarily accomplish, to supersede the necessity for leaving home.

Sermons by the late Rev. Thomas Scott, M.A., Rector of Wappenham, Northamptonshire, and formerly Incumbent of Gawcot, Bucks. With a Brief Memoir of his Life. Edited by the Rev. Samuel King, M.A., Rector of Latimer, Bucks. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1837.

Mr. Scott was the second and last surviving son of the celebrated commentator. In early life he was afflicted with ophthalmia; and while suffering from this painful malady, appears to have received deep religious impressions, which, in after life brought forth rich fruits. Having dedicated himself to the work of the ministry, he was presented as the first incumbent, to a chapel at Gawcott, near Buckingham. Here Mr. Scott resided twenty-seven years. The endowment was £100 per annum; and this was to include all expenses,—repairs of the chapel, and clerk's salary! The chapel was so badly built as soon to become ruinous. A new one was built, Mr. Scott being his own architect, at a cost of £1700, obtained from various sources. He also added, chiefly from his own resources, more than

£30 per annum to the endowment. He had before built a parsonage house at more than five years income of his benefice! and this with an increasing family, and no resources except those of a tutor. He had therefore, and none need be surprised, as his biographer observes, to struggle with poverty. *At last* he had a rectory; but he died shortly after he entered upon it. All we need say is, if the Church of England was, *in any sense*, what it is so loudly asserted to be, such a man would not have had to endure Mr. Scott's hard lot. There, however, for the most part, the drones are rewarded, the *labourer* starves. In reference to the sermons forming this posthumous volume, all that is required is soon said—they are worthy of the man whose self-denying character is here exhibited.

The Bible and Spade; or Captain Brenton's Account of the Rise and Progress of 'The Children's Friend Society;' showing its tendency to prevent Crime and Poverty, and eventually to dispense with Capital Punishment and Impressment. London: Nisbet & Co.

The singular title of this little book, will awaken the attention of the curious. It is intended to show that the promotion of religion and industry is the great object contemplated by 'The Children's Friend Society.' It contains many interesting details of the operations of that Institution. Thirteen hundred children have been rescued from ruin by its agency. We hope this little book may be extensively read, as it cannot fail to impart pleasure to the Christian philanthropist, and must secure the patronage and support of the public to the cause it advocates.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

On the Law of Christ, respecting Civil Obedience, especially in the Payment of Tribute, with an Appendix of Documents and Notes, to which are added two Addresses on the Voluntary Church Question. By John Brown, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Secession Church. The Third Edition, improved and enlarged.

Operations carried on at Gizeh, in 1837; also an Account of a Voyage into Upper Egypt. Illustrated with Drawings and numerous Wood-cuts. By Colonel Howard Vyse.

The Pyramids of Gizeh, from actual Survey and Admeasurement. Illustrated with Notes and References to the several Plans. By J. E. Perring, Esq., Civil Engineer. With Sketches taken on the spot by E. I. Andrews, Esq. The First Part, containing the Great Pyramid, is nearly ready.

The Hieroglyphics on the Coffin of Mycerinus, found in the third Pyramid of Gizeh. With Letter-press description.

Just Published.

Speeches of Henry Lord Brougham, upon questions relating to Public Rights, Duties, and Interests; with Historical Introductions, and a Critical Dissertation upon the Eloquence of the Ancients. 4 vols. 8vo.

History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, President of the Theological School of Geneva. Vol. I.

Christian Beneficence contrasted with Covetousness; illustrating the means by which the world may be regenerated. By Thomas Dick, LL.D.

Celestial Scenery; or the Wonders of the Planetary System displayed; illustrating the Perfections of the Deity and a Plurality of Worlds. By T. Dick, LL.D. Third Edition, revised.

The Parochial System; an Appeal to English Churchmen. By Henry W. Wilberforce, M.A.

A General Outline of the Animal Kingdom. By Thomas Rymer Jones, F.Z.S. Part I.

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